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USSR Report

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 1983



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29 April 1983

USSR REPORT

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 1983

Translation of the Russian-language journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE
ISSLEDOVANIYA published quarterly in Moscow by the Institute of
Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences.

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ENGLISH SUMMARIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in English No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) p 220

[Summaries]

[Text] A. A. Gromyko, G. B. Starushenko

"Social and National Factors of the Liberated Countries Development"

Social contents and practice of realization of the principle of nation's self-determination are under consideration, as well as interpretations of this principle by different ideological trends representatives. The authors come to the conclusion that only Marxist-Leninist approach to this question accords with the vital requirements of national and social development of nations nowadays.

L. V. Ostепенko, A. A. Susokolov

"Ethnosociological Peculiarities of the Intelligentsia Reproduction"

On the basis of extensive empirical data the peculiarities of national intelligentsia reproduction in the Union republics are analysed. Special attention is paid to the laws of this process manifestation under conditions of socialist society and to the problem of the "intellectual potential" usage in national republics.

M. N. Rutkevich

"On the Role of Trade in the Social Development of the Soviet Society"

The author reveals the role of trade and consumer service in formation and satisfaction of requirements of Soviet people, in stimulation of consumer goods and foodstuffs output. Keen problems of the consumer service labour collectives are also the subject to consideration here.

"The Food Program Realization: Social Aspects"

The rubric includes articles, in which measures for further development of village and the Food Program realization are analysed. There are considered such problems, as social factors of agricultural production efficiency rise (Staroverov V. I.);

principles and organization of social processes controlling in the village (Leshkevich V. V., Tarasevich V. F.); influence of the territorial mobility of population on socioeconomic progress in the village (Perevedentsev V. I.); improvement of socioeconomic aspects of Soviet people feeding (Levin A. I., Rimashevskaya N. M.).

L. N. Kogan, A. V. Merenkov

"Composite Teams: Opinion, Estimation, Experience of Usage"

With the help of empirical data the advantages of team form of work organization are revealed. Special attention is paid to economic, organizational and educational problems of team-method application.

S. A. Kugel'

"Skills and Real Activity of an Engineer"

There are analysed structures, functions and social content of engineer's labour, modern requirements to technical specialist. The author also touches on the problem of engineer's training and estimation of their practical activity.

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THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

SOCIAL AND NATIONAL FACTORS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF LIBERATED COUNTRIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 3-9

[Article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Anatoliy Andreyevich Gromyko, director of the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor Gleb Borisovich Starushenko, deputy director of the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Social and National Factors of the Development of Liberated Countries"]

[Text] The social and national factors of social development are in a certain unity with each other, which with historical progress is being intensified more and more. In the 19th century the emergence of unipational states was a kind of norm, at any rate for the majority of countries which chose the capitalist path of development. In our times the situation has changed. Under the influence of social factors, say, such as migration, even the previously unipational states are turning into multinational states. On earth, where more than 2,000 large nations and nationalities live, there are only 170 states. Under present conditions the creation by each nation and nationality of its own state is impracticable.

At the same time the broadening of the sphere of social gains of the workers in the capitalist countries, the elimination of the colonial systems and the liberation of previously oppressed peoples, the creation in the socialist states and the countries of a socialist orientation of favorable conditions for the development of nations and nationalities--all this has increased considerably the importance of the national aspects of social progress. Bourgeois sociologists attempt to represent

A. A. Gromyko is a specialist in the problems of international relations, and the foreign policy of the Soviet state and is the author of a number of monographs. Among them there are "Vneshnyaya politika SShA: uroki i deystvitel'nost'. 60-70-ye gody" [U.S. Foreign Policy: Lessons and Reality. The 1960's and 1970's] (1978), "Konflikt na Yuge Afriki" [Conflict in the Southern Part of Africa] (1979), "Afrika: progress, trudnosti, perspektivy" [Africa: Progress, Difficulties, Prospects] (1981). G. B. Starushenko is a specialist in the area of the legal and social problems of the liberation movements and the author of the monographs "Natsiya i gosudarstvo v osvobodayushchikhsya stranakh" [The Nation and State in Countries Which Are Liberating Themselves] (1977), "Mirovoy revolyutsionnyy protsess i sovremennoye mezhdunarodnoye pravo" [The World Revolutionary Process and Modern International Law] (1978).

this phenomenon as evidence of the approach of "the age of nationalism" and proof of the superiority of "the national character" over "the social character." Such an approach is an obvious oversimplification of the problem and a distortion of the real state of affairs.

The settlement of the national question is closely connected with the solution of social problems, for the behavior of people in society in the end is determined not by their affiliation with one nationality or another, but by their affiliation with a social (class) community. Therefore Soviet sociologists, by relying on facts and being guided by Marxist-Leninist theory, explain the development of national movements not only by "the national character" of people, but, first of all, by the social contradictions in society. To counterbalance bourgeois scholars Marxists believe: "having achieved national liberation, the peoples of Asia and Africa are beginning to realize more and more the ripe need for the fundamental solution of social problems" [3]. The liberated peoples are concentrating their efforts on the drive for further progressive development, for the creation of such a social and state system, which would exclude the exploitation and oppression of man by man, of one people by another. The national question can be successfully settled only on the path which leads to socialism. Precisely for this reason Marxist sociology, without belittling the importance of the drive for national liberation, other things being equal puts in first place the interests of the drive for social liberation.

Owing to a number of historical and socioeconomic factors the national question is becoming urgent in many developing countries of Asia and Africa. Hundreds of peoples and ethnic groups live on the African continent, but only a few of them have formed nations. After declaring independence the processes of national consolidation gain more and more strength. The lack of settlement of the national question has a considerable influence on the domestic political stability of the state and its international position, at times pushing the social conflicts into the background.

While capitalism exists, V. I. Lenin wrote, all democratic transformations and, consequently, the settlement of the national question "are feasible only as an exception and, moreover, in an incomplete, distorted form" [1]. The experience of history and the present status of nations and peoples (ethnoses) in the nonsocialist part of the world in all obviousness show that capitalism has been able neither in the past nor in the present to settle the national question, since it strives to unite nations by such methods as the forcible assimilation of national minorities, segregation, apartheid and even genocide. Of course, such methods only aggravate domestic problems and international relations.

The modern revolutionary liberation movements constitute a unified stream. And here the internationalistic support on the part of the international working class movement and the socialist states, which are guided here by international law, is strengthening the forces of the revolutionaries who are operating in one country or another. At the same time this solidarity imposes upon the representatives of the revolutionary forces the duty to act with allowance made for the interests of the revolutionary liberation struggle of all their allies in the given region, on the given continent and on an international scale. Such is the logic of the struggle against the reactionary forces, who always strive to act in concert. That movement, which, on the basis of narrowly understood national interests, refuses to act jointly with its allies, places itself outside the world revolutionary process and loses the support on the part of other revolutionary forces.

In the struggle against socialism and the liberation revolutions in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America the forces of imperialism are attempting to weaken the world anti-imperialist front not only by the force of arms, but also by the pitting of some peoples against others, the stirring up of racial and national hostility and the inspiration of separatist movements. Frequently the imperialist powers and the local reaction attempt to divide a state with a progressive regime and to seize a portion of its territory (for example, Nagaland from India, Eritrea from Ethiopia, Mayotte Island from the Comore Islands and so on). Here the reactionary forces are gambling more and more often on the principle of self-determination. The imperialists advocate the "self-determination" of one or several provinces in order to block the self-determination of all the people and to weaken the revolution. The total repudiation of this principle is a counterbalance of such an interpretation of the principle of self-determination for the developing (and not only the developing) countries under the conditions when the country has achieved political independence. Both approaches act as extremes and are incorrect. The history of the emergence of the principle of self-determination, which dates to the times of the bourgeois revolutions, should be recalled in order to show this.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie of the period, when it acted as a progressive antifeudal force, proposed to settle the national question on the basis of only "the national character," although in the end socioeconomic considerations (the need to create a national market and to shield "their own" bourgeoisie from foreign rivals) also guided them. The "principle of nationality," which was advanced by such thinkers as (Mancini), (Loran), (Gradovskiy), (Renan) and others, was interpreted as the absolute need for the creation under all circumstances of uninational states ("one nation--one state"). The social factor here was relegated to the background, or else ignored. The unification in a single state of Italians, Germans and several other European peoples took place on the basis of "the principle of nationality."

However, the narrow-mindedness of "the principle of nationality" soon came to light. Thus, it turned out to be unfeasible in a number of countries of Eastern Europe, where multinational states had been formed, and in Latin America, where more than 15 independent states had been formed on the basis of only a few ethnic communities. This principle is completely inapplicable in many regions of Asia and Africa, where often there are still no formed nations, while the ethnic groups make up such a variegated mosaic that any possibility of forming states only on a strictly ethnic basis is also ruled out in the future. Finally, another flaw of "the principle of nationality" has appeared since the second half of the 19th century. The latter did not conform to the interests, "the social nature" of the new class which was appearing on the historical arena--the proletariat--since the bourgeoisie was using this principle for the diversion of the working people from the class struggle and the fanning of the national feelings of the workers. They attempted to separate by national prejudices the proletarians of different nationalities, the strength of whom consisted in unity.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the principle of the self-determination of peoples and nations (the right of nations to self-determination) was advanced by Marxists as the theoretical basis of the solution of the national problems which arose during the liberation struggle. In contrast to the historically obsolete "principle of nationality," the principle of self-determination, first, recognized the right to decide independently one's own fate not only for the formed European

and American nations, but also for all nationalities and peoples without exception; second, the right not only to state secession, but also to other forms of relations with peoples (autonomy, federation and so on) is understood by the right to self-determination; third, the indicated principle is based not on the obligatoriness, but on the expediency of secession, by regarding this question as being subordinate to the struggle for peace, social liberation and socialism; fourth, it presumes the need for the achievement of not only the de jure, but also the de facto equality of nations (in the socioeconomic and cultural respects). Thus, Marxism advanced in place of "the principle of nationality" a principle which in practice is entirely new.

At first the principle of the self-determination of peoples and nations was a political principle of the Marxist parties of the working class. Later, having been included in the treaties between the Soviet Union and the states adjacent to it, it acquired the nature of an international legal principle of local importance, while after its inclusion in the UN Charter, the International Pacts on Human Rights and numerous other international treaties it became one of the basic principles of international relations, which is mandatory for all states. But the evolution of the principle of self-determination did not end at this. The practice of its implementation was responsible for the steady broadening first of all of the social content of the principle. At first the right of peoples and nations to dispose of their own natural resources freely, then the right to the independent settlement of all questions of the domestic system, including questions of the social order, and, finally, the right to choose the path of development were included in it.¹

The aspiration to "ban" social revolutions and to place them "outside the law" is one of the reasons for the exaggeration of the national element to the detriment of the social element. Meanwhile the right of peoples to the revolutionary reorganization of their life did not raise doubts among the English Congregationalists, the French Enlighteners and the ideologists of the American bourgeoisie during the period of the struggle for independence. They deduced this right from the natural rights of peoples. The forefathers of those, who are now trying by military force to interfere with the revolutionary liberation movements, at one time wrote in the Declaration of Independence: "All men are created equal.... Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.... it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it." By declaring in our times the social revolution to be a result of the "incitement" of world communism and the socialist countries, bourgeois sociologists and political figures are displaying either elementary ignorance or unscrupulousness. Realistically thinking scholars also recognize the prejudice of such views. "In a significant portion of the world," H. Morgenthau, for example, writes, "today a revolutionary situation exists. This revolutionary situation would exist, even if we had never heard mention of communism.... The fact that for us these national and social revolutions are frequently connected with communism, first of all can be explained by the inability of the West to support them morally and to give them material assistance" [5].

1. These provisions are recorded, for example, in the Pacts on Human Rights, the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and other documents.

History testifies that revolutions occurred long before the emergence of the communist movement. But precisely scientific communism proved the historical inevitability and law-governed nature of the revolutionary struggle. As a result of the foreign policy activity of the Soviet state and the socialist countries the right to revolution has now acquired the force of a law of international relations. The principle of self-determination, which is included in the UN Charter, is the legal expression of the objectively existing right of peoples not only to national self-determination, but also to internal, social revolutionary transformations. In the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference it is written: "On the basis of the principle of equality and the right of peoples to manage their own fate, all peoples always have the right under the conditions of complete freedom to determine... their own domestic and foreign political status without interference from outside and to carry out at their own discretion their own political, economic, social and cultural development" [6, p 445]. Therefore the statement of the representatives of the current American administration, who declared the struggle of oppressed peoples for their liberation to be a manifestation of terrorism and their own actions on the suppression of national liberation movements to be a measure in response to the "explosion of international terrorism," looks like a challenge to the decisions of the conference in Helsinki.

The concept of the right to development as a component and a necessary premise of the right to self-determination found reflection in Article I of the International Pacts on Human Rights. Here, in particular, it is stated that owing to the right to self-determination all peoples "ensure... their own economic, social and cultural development" [10]. The liberated countries justly believe that the equality of opportunities for development is the prerogative of all peoples. At present the United Nations has begun a thorough study of the interrelationship between the right to development and the right to self-determination. It is natural that this will require the cooperation of the sociologists and specialists in international law of various states.

As historical experience attests, secession does not always conform to the real interests of one people or another. The implementation of the principle of self-determination on an ethnic basis in forms, which increase the isolation, Balkanization of continents, can only aggravate socioeconomic difficulties. The question of who will profit by self-determination is far from immaterial for peoples. They cannot be neocolonialist forces, which are interested in the recolonization of the seceded people.

In order to prevent the interpretation of the principle of self-determination only as the right to secession, that is, without the consideration of social factors, the international community of states also established as one of the basic norms of international relations the principle of the inviolability (integrity) of state and national territory. It is set down in numerous international treaties and acts, which obligate all countries to observe this principle. "The states will respect the territorial integrity of each of the member states," it is stated in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. "In conformity with this they will refrain from any actions, which are incompatible with the goals and principles of the United Nations Charter, against the territorial integrity, political independence or unity of any member state and, in particular, from any such actions which are a use of force or a threat with force" [6, p 442]. The territory of a state is inviolable. It is the basis of the independent socioeconomic

development of a country. The people are the master of their own territory, and only they have the supreme right to manage it. No one has the right to interfere in the domestic affairs of a state without the consent of the people who live in it.

The principle of territorial integrity follows from the principle of national or state sovereignty and is brought into being by the implementation everywhere of the principle of self-determination and by the attempts of the imperialist powers to divide unified countries, to make them helpless on the social level, to grant independence to only a portion of the territory, while on the remaining territory to preserve their own direct or indirect domination.

The requirement of the consideration of the sociopolitical expediency of the secession of some peoples or others is not equivalent to the rejection of the principle of self-determination, since the latter can be implemented in various forms (the voluntary joining of a unitary state, a confederation, a federation, an autonomy). Thus, the reduction of the principle of self-determination only to secession radically contradicts the very spirit of this principle and the goals, in the name of the achievement of which it is being advanced and implemented: to provide the most favorable conditions for the national and social development of peoples.

The history of the national question in various countries attests that at specific stages of development the ethnonational factor can to a certain extent push the social factor into the background and become dominant. "The national character" for a time gains the upper hand over "the social character." Such a turn of events often lends national relations great poignancy and makes the accomplishment of social transformations difficult. The consistent observance and implementation of the principle of the self-determination of peoples and nations help to avoid this, to which the example of Soviet Russia attests. In the struggle for power the party of the Bolsheviks united the working masses of different nationalities. It is natural that during the initial period of the October Revolution, when the main attention was focused on the settlement of the most urgent social questions, the national questions were relegated to the background. After the accomplishment of radical social transformations these problems also required their solution. At the same time as the building of a new social order--socialism--the Soviet state also dealt with such tasks in the area of national relations as the complete elimination of national discord, the education of the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the creation of a union of equal peoples, the establishment of close cooperation and the strengthening of the fraternal friendship among peoples, the utmost development of national and ethnic groups, the development of the economy, the elimination of the cultural backwardness of the peoples, who were oppressed in the past, and the achievement of their actual equality. All the enumerated tasks can be successfully accomplished only on the basis of the principles of equality, self-determination and proletarian internationalism.

Already during the first days after the triumph of October the Soviet Government adopted "The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia," in which along with the complete elimination of national oppression and the equality of large and small peoples the right of each of them to decide their own fate independently was also proclaimed. Contrary to the claims of bourgeois ideologists (which are also being repeated to this day) that the implementation in practice of the indicated principle leads to the collapse of the state, in Russia, as is known, this did not happen. The majority of peoples in general did not wish to secede, having

exercised their right to self-determination in various forms of autonomy, while many of those, which did secede, soon became a part of the USSR, having implemented the right to self-determination in the form of a federation. Precisely the existence of a state system of united peoples, large and small, which was created owing to the implementation of this principle, is the most important component of the mechanism, which made it possible to solve the national problems and is making it possible to overcome in good time and in the interests of all the peoples the acute contradictions which arise in a multinational society, without allowing their development into antagonistic contradictions.

The Soviet experience of settling the national question is a topic of lively interest in Africa and Asia. "We are carefully studying the experience of building socialism, which has been gained by the Soviet Union," (Amilkar Kabral), a prominent champion of the freedom of Africa, wrote. "The practical experience of settling the national question in the Soviet Union on the basis of the Leninist principles of internationalism is also of paramount importance for Africa" [7]. It is characteristic that in recent decades the idea of implementing the principle of self-determination in the form of a federation or autonomy has also found more and more extensive application in the developing countries (India, Burma, Tanzania, Nigeria, Gabon and others). In the Sudan, where the extremely aggravated problem of the southern part led to many years of fratricidal war between the southerners and government troops, the Marxists proposed a plan of settlement of the national question, which was based on the study of the Soviet experience and envisages the broad autonomy of the Nilotic peoples of the south in the unified Sudanese state. In essence, namely the main ideas of this plan were the basis for the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement between the government of President Nimeiri and the leaders of the south Sudan rebels, in accordance with which the autonomy of the southern province of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan was guaranteed [8]. At one time on the basis of the principle of autonomy it was possible to halt the war between the Arabs and Kurds in Iraq.

The policy of the Soviet state in the area of national relations became the subject of extensive and thorough study by Ethiopian society and the leadership during the period following the triumph of the 1974 revolution. Ethiopia is the only country in Africa, in which the right to self-determination (in the form of autonomy) is officially recognized for its peoples. And although they have just begun its implementation, this is, undoubtedly, a step forward. The settlement of the national question in Ethiopia is being complicated by the fact that about 70 nationalities and ethnic groups live in the country. During the imperial regime the rights of the majority of peoples of Ethiopia were violated, in particular, the autonomy of Eritrea was illegally abolished. After the revolution the situation began to change for the better. In the Programme of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia (§6) it was noted: "the right of all nations to self-determination will be recognized and fully respected. No nationality will dominate over another, since in conformity with the spirit of socialism the history, culture, language and religion of each nationality will be equally recognized.... Every nationality will have local autonomy in matters concerning domestic affairs" [9]. But the separatist movements are hindering the implementation of the principle of self-determination. In addition to Eritrea, where 8.4 percent of the population of the country lives, separatist trends are also being stirred up among several other peoples. Here the majority of separatists are ignoring the fact that the right to self-determination can be exercised not only in the form of secession.

The experience of the Soviet Union, which quite recently celebrated its 60th anniversary, confirms the possibility and expediency of settling the national question within a single state. It is natural that other peoples are also following its example. The historical experience of our country is being carefully studied in many countries which have liberated themselves from the colonial yoke. The gains of the Soviet Union in the building of socialism and in the assurance of the flourishing and convergence of nations are providing new stimuli for the liberation struggle of peoples against imperialism and are making easier for them the path to freedom and social progress. "The young countries, which have liberated themselves from the colonial yoke, are now going through a difficult period of national emergence and social development," General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yu. V. Andropov said in the report "The 60th Anniversary of the USSR." "The backwardness, which was inherited from the colonial past, the internecine strifes and conflicts are drawing them back. Numerous traps, which have been set out by the neocolonialists, threaten the countries which have not yet grown strong. But we are confident that the resolute resistance to imperialism, a well thought-out strategy of economic and sociopolitical development and the mutual respect of the interests and rights of each other will enable the peoples of these countries to overcome what are called the difficulties of growth" [2].

Marxist-Leninist sociology is faced with the important tasks of the thorough study of the interrelationship of the social and national aspects of the political, economic and cultural relations between peoples and the elaboration of methods of analyzing social and national interests in their dialectic interaction.

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ETHNOSOCIAL PECULIARITIES OF THE REPRODUCTION OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 10-16

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences Lyubov' Viktorovna Ostapenko, junior scientific associate of the Institute of Ethnography imeni N. N. Miklukho-Maklay of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Candidate of Historical Sciences Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Susokolov, junior scientific associate of the Institute of Ethnography imeni N. N. Miklukho-Maklay of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Ethnosocial Peculiarities of the Reproduction of the Intelligentsia"]

[Text] The formation of the multinational Soviet intelligentsia was one of the important results of the Leninist national policy. A well-balanced system of the training of specialists, which reliably supports the process of the reproduction of the intelligentsia,¹ has been created in the country. However, many social factors, and in a multinational state also national factors, influence the formation of the latter. In the article on the basis of the materials of the all-union ethnosociological study "The Optimization of the Sociocultural Conditions of the Development and Convergence of Nations in the USSR"² we will analyze the trends of the formation of the intelligentsia. The main attention here will be devoted to the dynamics of the number of students and specialists of the indigenous nationality in the overall composition of the intelligentsia; the factors which ensure the stable

1. In using the concepts "specialists" and "the intelligentsia," we have in mind people with a higher education, who are employed in the national economy. Hereinafter these terms are used as synonyms.
2. The study was conducted in the 1970's by the Sector of Sociology of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences under the supervision of Yu. V. Arutyunyan [4]. The population of five union republics (the RSFSR, Uzbekistan, Georgia, Moldavia, Estonia) was surveyed; statistical data were collected for all the republics. In the article the documents of higher educational institutions of the union republics and materials of the handbooks "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR" [The USSR National Economy] and censuses are also used.

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reproduction of the national intelligentsia; the peculiarities of the national composition of the intelligentsia of different republics; the role of the migratory mobility of secondary school graduates and young specialists in the formation of the national composition of the student body and the intelligentsia. The analysis of the indicated problems will concern the main indigenous nationalities, that is, the nationalities which gave their name to the republics.

What proportion of the national intelligentsia and student body of a republic in their overall composition can be regarded as optimal? Under present conditions the state, when the national composition of the intelligentsia and the student body of each republic corresponds to the national composition of its population as a whole, is usually considered to be optimal [5]. Indicators, which are the quotient from the division of the proportion of the representatives of each nationality among the specialists with a higher education and among the student body by the proportion of the people of one nationality or another in the population, are used for the measurement of this ratio. In case of the equality of the numerator and denominator the indicators are equal to one; they decrease, if the number of people of the given nationality among the student body (intelligentsia) is less than their number in the population, and increase in case of the inverse ratio. We will call the indicator of the proportion of specialists the index of participation (IP) and the indicator of the proportion of the student body the index of reproduction (IR) of the national composition. So that the values of the indicators would be expressed by whole numbers, we will multiply the result by 100.

The state, in case of which both the index of participation and the index of reproduction for each nationality in each republic are equal to 100, perhaps, is an abstraction which is achievable only in the ideal. First, because the very process of the equalization of nations inevitably presumes the granting of specific preferences to the nationalities which previously were backward socially and culturally [1]. Second, the differences in the socio-occupational structure of the population influence the process of the reproduction of the intelligentsia (especially the number of students). Third, it is impossible not to take into account the gradients of the birth rate in ethnic communities, the migration of secondary school graduates between republics and a number of other factors.

It is impossible not to speak about how different the "starting positions" of the union republics were in the area of education at the start of the building of socialism. During the 1914/15 school year of the 105 higher educational institutions, which existed within the present territory of the Soviet Union, 72 were located in the cities of the present RSFSR, 27--the Ukrainian SSR, 4--the Estonian SSR, 1--the Latvian SSR. In all the remaining regions, including Transcaucasia, Central Asia, Moldavia and Belorussia, there were only higher courses for women, which were started in Tiflis in 1908 and graduated less than 100 people a year.

During the first 20 years of Soviet power a system of higher educational institutions was created in all the republics, which was the most important prerequisite of the formation of national detachments of the intelligentsia locally. Indeed, the majority of the largest higher educational institutions of all-union importance were located for a long time in the regions of intensive industrial development. Thus, in 1940/41 of the 817 higher educational institutions of the USSR 554 higher educational institutions (68 percent), at which 83 percent of all the students studied, operated in the RSFSR and the Ukraine. This appreciably exceeded the

proportion of these republics in the population of the country. As a whole before the war the differences between the republics in the development of the system of higher education were quite significant. During the 1940/41 school year the coefficient of variation of the proportion of the students of higher educational institutions in the population of the union republics was equal to 59 percent [7--calculation of the authors]. In addition to the level of industrialization, the peculiarities of the development of the system of higher education in the union republics stemmed from the level of literacy and education of the older generations of the representatives of the indigenous nationalities. Thus, the coefficient of linear correlation between the level of literacy of the population in 1914/15 and the proportion of students among the population in 1940/41 was equal to 0.52. Let us note, moreover, another circumstance: the formation of the intelligentsia was slowed down on the territories which were temporarily outside the USSR.

The interaction of the distinguished factors also determined the level of development of higher education in the republics in the early 1940's. As is evident from Table 1, the largest proportion of students in 1940/41 is characteristic of the Armenian and Georgian SSR's. This indicator was also higher than the unionwide level in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Latvia and Estonia.

Table 1

Number of Students Per 10,000 People in the Union Republics*

Republics	1940/41 school year	1970/71 school year	1980/81 school year
On the average for the USSR.	41	188	196
RSFSR.	43	204	219
Ukrainian SSR.	47	170	176
Belorussian SSR.	24	154	183
Uzbek SSR.	28	192	172
Kazakh SSR	16	151	173
Georgian SSR	77	189	169
Azerbaijan SSR	44	191	173
Lithuanian SSR	20	180	206
Moldavian SSR.	10	124	128
Latvian SSR.	52	171	186
Kirghiz SSR.	19	162	152
Tajik SSR.	15	149	142
Armenian SSR	82	214	186
Turkmen SSR.	22	131	124
Estonian SSR	45	161	172

* Source: [6, p 468].

The consistent policy of the Soviet state in the area of higher education promoted not only an increase of the absolute number of students in all the republics, but also a considerable decrease of the relative differences between them with respect to this indicator [7, pp 18-20]. During the 1965/66 school year the value of the coefficient of variation of the proportion of students among the population was equal to 17 percent. In subsequent years the value of the indicator did not change substantially: during both the 1970/71 and 1980/81 school years it came to 15 percent.

The stabilization of the quantitative indicators did not mean, however, the halt of structural changes in the process of the reproduction of the intelligentsia in the republics. For example, the value of the coefficient of linear correlation between the indicators of the proportion of students among the population in 1940/41 and 1970/71 was equal to 0.88. The correlation between the levels of 1970/71 and 1980/81 came to 0.77. Thus, in 10 years the ratio between the republics had changed more than during the preceding 30 years, although the overall level of the differences, which is established by the coefficient of variation, during this period remained unchanged. The correlation between the levels of 1940/41 and 1980/81 is characterized by the value of 0.43. This fact attests that the ratio between the republics in the proportion of students has changed considerably. During the 1970's in a number of republics, which previously lagged with respect to this indicator (Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Moldavia), the proportion of students increased, and, on the contrary, it decreased in the republics of Transcaucasia. In the RSFSR the proportion of students remained higher than the average, since a large number of higher educational institutions of unionwide importance are concentrated here.

The proportion of people of the main indigenous nationality in the group is the most important characteristic of the national composition of specialists and the student body. In the late 1950's and early 1960's in a number of republics (Georgia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Lithuania, Estonia, the RSFSR) among students it exceeded the proportion of the representatives of the main indigenous nationality within the population. In all the other republics this ratio approached one: the index of reproduction had a value within the range of 75 (in Moldavia) to 89 (in Lithuania).

At first glance, the statistical data, it would seem, do not confirm the hypothesis that the level of the reproduction of the intelligentsia from among people of the indigenous nationality depends on the development of the system of higher education. Thus, in 1979/80 the coefficient of linear correlation between the index of the reproduction of the main indigenous nationality and the proportion of students on the average for the republics was equal to 0.09, for 1940/41 it came to 0.13. However, a more thorough analysis makes it possible to detect here a complex nonlinear dependence.

During the past two decades two tendencies have been characteristic of the process of the training of specialists in the republics. First of all this is the tendency for not only the absolute, but also the relative representation of the main indigenous nationality among the student body to increase (see Table 2). This process is especially noticeable in the republics, in which the proportion of the main indigenous nationality among the student body was appreciably less than its proportion in the population. For example, the indicator of reproduction for the main indigenous nationalities in 20 years increased in Uzbekistan from 76 to 94 (+18), in Moldavia from 74 to 97 (+23), while on the average for all the republics it increased from 95 to 105 (+10). The second tendency, which is connected with the first, consists in the convergence of the republics with respect to the indicator of the involvement of people of the main indigenous nationality in the student body. Thus, the coefficient of variation of the index of the reproduction of the intelligentsia of the main indigenous nationalities decreased with each decade (see Table 2). Now the differences between the republics are negligible.

Table 2

Arithmetic Means and Coefficients of Variation of the Indices of the
Reproduction of the Intelligentsia for 14 Union Republics³

Indicators	1960/61 school year	1970/71 school year	1979/80 school year
Main indigenous nationality			
Mean.	95	99	105
Coefficient of variation (percent). . .	15	13	12
Russians			
Mean.	156	141	113
Coefficient of variation (percent). . .	39	29	29

As studies show, the reproduction of the intelligentsia of the main indigenous nationality occurs more intensively, the greater its proportion is among the entire republic intelligentsia: in 1980/81 on the average for the republics the coefficient of correlation between the indices of participation and reproduction was equal to 0.6. This is another manifestation of the process of the increase of the role of the main indigenous nationalities in all the sphere of life of the republics. The motive forces of this process are the industrialization and urbanization of all the regions of the country.

It would be, however, an oversimplification to believe that the intensity of the reproduction of the national intelligentsia is proportionate to the degree of involvement of the main indigenous nationality in the processes of urbanization and industrial development. The corresponding indicators are -0.08 and -0.25, that is, even an inverse dependence between the proportion of the representatives of the main indigenous nationality within the working class of the republics and the intensity of the reproduction of the intelligentsia of this nationality is observed. This stems in many ways from the intra- and interrepublic differences in the sectorial composition of the student body. For all the studies republics (except the RSFSR) the indicator of the proportion of people of the main indigenous nationalities at polytechnical higher educational institutions is lower than at institutes of other specializations. Meanwhile namely the syllabus of the technical higher educational institution meets most completely the demands which are being laid down for specialists by the present processes of industrial development and urbanization.

The dynamics of the quantitative increase and qualitative composition of the intelligentsia and student body to a considerable extent is governed by ethnocultural processes. One of the most important aspects here is the correlation of the reproduction of the intelligentsia of the main indigenous nationality and the other national groups. Russians are the largest group among the nonindigenous nationalities in all the union republics (with the exception of the RSFSR). Along with the main indigenous nationality they play a very active role in the ethnic processes of the republics. The increase of the proportion of Russians among the population of

3. Here and hereinafter the coefficients of variation and correlation are calculated for all the republics except the RSFSR, which owing to the large number of national autonomies requires a special study.

the union republics occurred especially intensively during the period of industrialization--mainly owing to the influx of specialists and skilled workers from the RSFSR. Therefore it is not surprising that for a certain time the index of the proportion of Russians among the intelligentsia and student body of many republics exceeded the corresponding indicator among the population. For example, during the 1960/61 school year the indicator of the reproduction of the intelligentsia for the main indigenous nationality exceeded the corresponding indicator for the Russian population in only three republics (Kazakhstan, Georgia, Estonia). By 1979/80 Lithuania, Kirghizia and Armenia has achieved the same level. However, the natural process of the increase of the proportion of the main indigenous nationality and the decrease of the proportion of the Russian population among the student body is occurring in all the republics, although it is taking place with a different intensity. The values of the index of reproduction for Latvia, where the changes of the indicators are negligible, and for Kirghizia, where they have changed substantially, are cited in Table 3.

Table 3

Indices of the Reproduction of the Intelligentsia of the Main Indigenous and Russian Nationalities in the Union Republics

School year	Latvia		Kirghizia	
	Latvians	Russians	Kirghiz	Russians
1960/61.	89	121	90	129
1980/81.	91	118	116	111

It is also possible to judge the changes in the national composition of the student body from the following fact: the value of the coefficient of correlation between the indices of the reproduction of the intelligentsia of the main indigenous and the Russian nationalities during the 1960/61 school year was -0.27, while during the 1979/80 school year it was -0.75. Thus, the differentiation of the republics with respect to the correlation of the indicators of the reproduction of the intelligentsia of the main indigenous and the Russian nationalities is taking place against the background of the decrease of the differences between the republics with respect to the proportion of students and specialists. A greater intensity of the reproduction of the main indigenous nationality is more often combined with a relatively lower rate of this process among Russians. And whereas in the early 1960's the noted tendency was manifested weakly, by the late 1970's it had intensified appreciably. This is connected with the above-mentioned fact of the more intensive reproduction of the intelligentsia of the main indigenous nationality in a number of republics, where its proportion was as great as or exceeded the proportion of the indigenous nationality in the population.

Such a differentiation of republics is a necessary stage of the development of the socioethnic structure of a multinational society. At this stage the prerequisites are created for the decrease of the differences in the sectorial composition of the intelligentsia of different nationalities. The process of the extensive involvement of the main indigenous nationalities in those sectors of the national economy, in which they were represented less than the nonindigenous, particularly the Russian, population, is the basis for the mentioned objective law. It is a question first of all the of newest sectors of modern industrial production (here in all the

republics without exception the proportion of the nonindigenous population for the present is larger). The mentioned process, which, to be sure, is progressive, is especially intensive in the republics with the greatest proportion of the main indigenous nationality among the intelligentsia.

The improvement of the national composition of the intelligentsia and student body also presumes the efficient use of the manpower potential of the republics. In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" it is noted: "It is also important in the future to improve the system of planning and the quality of the training of specialists, to take more accurately into account when distributing them the real needs of the republics and the USSR as a whole, to utilize more thoroughly their creative potential in the interests of the building of communism" [3, p 6]. In spite of the fact that in all the republics the rate of the reproduction of the intelligentsia especially among people of the main indigenous nationality is quite high, in some regions the needs of the national economy for specialists for the present are not being completely met. According to the data of the Tashkent Job Placement Bureau, in 1973 in the republic there were 6,000 too few specialists, while by 1977 the shortage had increased. Here a worker of even the most critical specialty for the national economy will not immediately find a job which corresponds to his skills. According to the data of the Tallinn Bureau for the Information and Job Placement of the Population, during 1980 90 percent of the workers, who had submitted an application during this year, and 70 percent of the specialists received a job assignment in their specialty.

Thus, a certain "difference of potentials," which creates the objective prerequisites for the redistribution of the "intellectual resources" of the republics, is arising. Of course, the question requires a more thorough study, particularly the accurate calculation of how the sectorial composition of the student body and the structure of the workplaces of the republic correlate. At the same time the broad nature of higher education in the USSR makes it possible to expect that the inter-republic redistribution of the intelligentsia will also affect a portion of the specialists of the main indigenous nationalities of a number of union republics. In addition to objective factors, subjective factors: the readiness for interrepublic migrations, also play an important role here. In the latter case two things are significant: first, positive aims toward migration; second, the ability to adapt in the environment of another ethnos, the most important condition of which is a knowledge of Russian. However, for the present not everything here is well yet. According to the data of our study, in the mid-1970's only 6-7 percent of the Georgians, who are specialists with a higher education, wanted to move to a new place, and the overwhelming majority wanted to move to another city of the republic. In Moldavia, where the proportion of the intelligentsia is less than in Georgia, about 19 percent of the Moldavians, who are specialists with a higher education, are oriented toward migration, including 2 percent who would like to move to other republics. Among the representatives of these nationalities the indicators of bilingualism also correlate in approximately the same way: 25-30 percent of the Georgian urban intelligentsia responded that they are just as fluent in Russian as they are in the language of their own nationality; among Moldavian specialists, who live in the city, this indicator is twofold higher.

The cited figures provide a basis for the assumption that the rate of the reproduction of the intelligentsia of the main indigenous nationality hardly has a

substantial influence on its migratory aims. In both of the mentioned republics the proportion of potential migrants is greater among the population of the nonindigenous nationalities, including Russians. Indeed, in Moldavia the migratory aims of the Russian nationality are more similar than in Georgia to the aims of specialists of the main indigenous nationality. Thus, among Russian specialists in the cities of Georgia more than 40 percent responded that in principle they would like to change their place of residence--primarily to leave the republic. This confirms the urgency of the assumption, which was advanced by the 26th CPSU Congress, concerning the need to study more thoroughly the sociocultural demands of the people of the nonindigenous nationalities of several republics [2].

We have touched upon only individual socioethnic aspects of the development of the system of higher education. The examined questions attest to the great dynamism of the process of the formation of the multinational intelligentsia and to the rapid convergence of the quantitative and qualitative indicators of its development. This dynamism is a natural manifestation of the historical advantages and achievements of real socialism.

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TRADE IN THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET SOCIETY

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[Article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Mikhail Nikolayevich Rutkevich, head of the Chair of Marxism-Leninism of the Academy of the National Economy attached to the USSR Council of Ministers: "On the Role of Trade in the Social Development of Soviet Society"]

[Text] The national economic importance of trade is frequently conveyed by means of such phrases: "trade is a mirror of the economy," "trade is a barometer of the economy." These expressions, which aspire to aphoristicness, under the conditions of socialism should, in our opinion, be accepted with substantial reservations. The commodity-money form is characteristic of the economic ties between the relatively isolated units of the national economy--enterprises, production associations--but such ties are being realized through the channels of wholesale trade only to a negligible extent. The relations between the subdivisions of enterprises and associations in general are devoid of a commodity nature. The situation is different with those aspects of the relations of exchange and distribution, which perform the function of meeting the personal needs of the citizens of socialist society. Here trade is, indeed, a kind of "mirror," "barometer," which attests to the state of not only economic relations as such, but also social relations.

The role of trade in meeting the needs of the people for consumer items is increasing both as a consequence of the increase of the well-being of the Soviet people and as a consequence of the intensification of the trend of the "denaturalization" of consumption. For several decades the volume of the commodity turnover in the USSR has been increasing nearly twofold more rapidly than the real income of the population. If we take the indicator of the level of per capita income in 1940 to be 100, in 1980 it was already equal to 581; accordingly as compared with 1970 (=100) by 1980 the value of the indicator has increased to 146. At the same time the volume of the retail commodity turnover in 1940 came to 20.9 billion rubles,

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in 1970--159.4 billion rubles, in 1980--277.9 billion rubles (in comparable prices). On a per capita basis the figures assume the following form. If we take the 1940 level to be 100, in 1980 the per capita commodity turnover came to 1,054, while with respect to 1970--172 [5, pp 7, 380, 421].

The "denaturalization" of consumption involves the decrease of the role of the private plot and the household in meeting the needs of the rural and in part the urban population for food products, as well as clothing, footwear and household items. Whereas in 1940 the private plot provided (on the average for the country) 48.3 percent of the income of the family of the kolkhoz farmer, in 1980 it provided only 25.3 percent; at the same time the proportion of the kolkhoz peasantry and the rural population in general in the population of the USSR decreased--from 67 percent to 37 percent [5, pp 7, 385]. The steps, which have been taken in recent years on the stimulation of the private plot of rural inhabitants and the horticultural and gardening cooperatives of urban workers and employees, are called upon to promote the more complete utilization of the possibilities of the production of agricultural products both for personal needs and for the supplementing of the marketable commodities. In 1980 64 percent of the gross harvest of potatoes, 33 percent of the vegetables, 31 percent of the meat, 30 percent of the milk and so on were obtained at subsidiary farms; in the same year 12 percent of the total volume of the commodity production of agriculture was provided by means of the surpluses which were sold by these farms to the state, consumer cooperatives and on the kolkhoz market [5, pp 204, 209]. In the decisions of the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum it is stressed that the increase of the assistance to the private plots and cooperatives on the part of the state, the local soviets, kolkhozes and sovkhozes "can provide a quick and appreciable return" [4].

However, it should be taken into account that the increase of the production on private plots and at horticultural and gardening cooperatives, while decreasing to a certain extent the "pressure" on trade, at the same time increases the demand for many capital goods: mixed fodders, fertilizers, chemicals, simple tools of labor, saplings of fruit trees and shrubs, young livestock and poultry, construction materials and so on. Therefore the increase of the output of private plots and horticultural and gardening cooperatives cannot have a substantial influence on the overall tendency for the proportion of homemade items in the meeting of the needs of the population to decrease. Academician V. A. Tikhonov of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin notes that "in 1965 rural residents purchased foodstuffs in rural retail trade worth a total of about 13 billion rubles, while in 1980 the reduced rural population in the case of relatively stable prices for foodstuffs purchased about 29 billion rubles of them in retail trade" [6].

The situation with the ratio of trade and public consumption funds is somewhat different. The benefits and payments from the latter increased from 4.6 billion rubles in 1940 to 116.5 billion rubles in 1980; on a per capita basis this means that they increased accordingly from 24 to 438 rubles [5, p 381]. Thus, the growth rate of the funds is leading the increase of the commodity turnover. Approximately half of the income from the funds is placed at the disposal of the population in the form of monetary payments (pensions, sickness benefits, stipends and so on). The latter stimulates demand, and thereby the increase of the commodity turnover and the development of services. The other half is used for the maintenance of the system of education, health services, the offsetting of the expenditures of the state on the maintenance of available housing and institutions of culture and so on. This

means that a substantial (and increasing) portion of the real income of the working people is being realized in circumvention of trade and the sphere of services for a fee. Such as a whole is the situation with the quantitative indicators.

However, to understand the role of trade (and services) in the life of society under the conditions of mature socialism it is no less important to take into account the qualitative changes in the system of needs of the working people. The proportion of the outlays on food products in the expenditures of the workers of industry decreased from 53.8 percent in 1940 to 31.7 percent in 1980; in the families of kolkhoz farmers from 67.3 percent to 35.9 percent. But the proportion of the expenditures on the purchase of furniture, cultural and personal items, clothing, footwear and so on increased substantially and is continuing to increase. The main thing is that along with the increase of the well-being the group of goods being used is constantly expanding and the demands on their quality and assortment are increasing. Industry now produces nearly 400,000 descriptions of various items, which are intended for mass consumption [7], and, nevertheless, the demand for many industrial goods, as is known, is being met far from completely. The consideration of the requirements of fashion is acquiring greater and greater importance. Thus, there is more than enough footwear in retail trade, but in this case in the warehouses and on the counters of stores the stocks of shoes, high shoes and boots, which are obsolete in style and, moreover, carelessly made, are growing. Customers are forced to "chase" fashionable items, to stand in lines and so on. Just at the wholesale trade fair for the sale of items for 1983 unsold footwear of the Skorokhod Association worth 15 million rubles was left over [8]. We will return again to the question of the interrelationship of trade and industry. Now let us note: what was said above is sufficient to confirm the thesis that trade is a mirror of socioeconomic processes and that the increase of its role in the life of society is a long-term trend of the development of Soviet society at the present stage.

During the current five-year plan a new substantial step forward should be made in the increase of the material well-being and cultural level of the people. It is proposed to increase the proportion of the consumption fund in the national income from 75.3 percent in 1980 to 77.3 percent in 1985 with an increase of the national income by 18-20 percent [2, pp 44, 139]. The need for the rapid development of trade and services is dictated by this. A detailed program of the development of trade and public dining, the fulfillment of which is called upon to ensure the efficient use by the population of its increasing income, is contained in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures on the Further Development of Trade and the Improvement of the Trade Service of the Population During the 11th Five-Year Plan," which was adopted in January 1982 [3].

Let us turn now directly to the examination of the social aspects of the development of trade, which directly interest sociology. First we should direct the attention of the reader to the fact that by social processes here and hereinafter there are understood not public (social in the broad, general meaning of this word) processes, but social processes in the narrow meaning of this concept. As applied to mature socialism it is a question first of all of the processes of the improvement of the social structure, the progress of society along the path to social equality and the development of the personality of citizens on the basis of the increase of the material and cultural level [9].

Gradual movement along the path of the increase of social equality on the basis of the increase of the well-being and culture of the people presumes the rapid development of productive forces, the increase of production efficiency and the increase of the national income, particularly the share of it, which is used for consumption. The achievement of these goals necessarily requires the improvement of the system of material and moral stimuli, it should prompt every person to conscientious labor, the increase of productivity and the increase of skills and should direct the attention of workers to the changeover to more complicated and more responsible types of labor and to migration to those regions and population centers, where at the given moment the most crucial economic problems are being solved. Deviations from the socialist principle of distribution at present are still occurring and require analysis. They follow two lines. First, this is the result of departmental decisions, which are aimed at the regulation of wages, like the following: the payment of unjustified bonuses, the crediting of wages only for being at work, so-called "vyvodilovka" and so forth. Second, there are illegal acts, which are committed at the works and outside it, including in the sphere of service: such as the direction violation of laws and administrative orders, theft, bribe taking, speculation, poaching, the obtaining of other types of unearned income, unauthorized absences from work and so on.

However, in the sphere of trade the honestly earned ruble, which is presented by the consumer when paying for goods and services, and the unearned ruble, which has been stolen from society, outwardly are "indistinguishable." The existence even if among a small portion of the population of "under the counter" money gives rise to a frivolous attitude toward it, which does not correspond to the social function of money under socialism--a kind of receipt which certifies the personal labor contribution. The use by all sorts of social climbers of considerable amounts for the purchase of real estate, the organization of banquets on the occasion of weddings, wakes and so on, which are expensive and bring together tens and hundreds of people, the construction of houses and dachas and the purchase of luxury items for the purposes of parasitic consumption does particular harm on the social level. These phenomena are at variance with the very essence of socialism. They have a demoralizing effect not only on the workers of trade and services, who are involved in the organization and handling of actions of this sort, but also on all the politically and morally instable members of society. The 26th CPSU Congress demanded that "...all loopholes for parasitism, bribery, speculation, unearned income and all encroachments upon socialist property be shut tight by all organizational, financial and legal means" [2, p 59].

The accomplishment of this important social task requires particular attention to the state of trade and to the overcoming of the serious shortcomings which are still being encountered here. Specific steps on the establishment of firm order in trade, the resolute curbing of machinations with scarce goods, the stepping up of the campaign against abuses and the tightening up of workers' control are outlined in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures on the Further Development of Trade and the Improvement of the Trade Service of the Population During the 11th Five-Year Plan." A special section, which concerns the improvement of trade in foodstuffs, is also contained in the Food Program, which was adopted by the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The demand "...to increase considerably the level of the trade service of the population" is laid down in the document for the departments which have a trade network [4, p 41]. In the improvement of trade the party sees a most important lever of the improvement of the entire

system of distributive relations and the steady elimination of those displays of social inequality, which are alien to the nature of socialism.

At the same time the experience of developing real socialism in the USSR attests that the equalization of the material and cultural conditions of the life of social groups, families and individuals on the basis of an overall increase does not mean the leveling of the abilities of the members of society and their material and spiritual needs. Under the conditions of mature socialism social integration, that is, the increase of the social homogeneity and unity of society, is inseparable from the further differentiation of occupations, specialties and individuals. It is important in this case to note that differentiation appears not only in the sphere of basic, occupational labor activity, but also in the means of using free time. But the differentiation of individuals as persons, their abilities and interests is inseparable from the differentiation of demands and needs. The latter presumes the corresponding development of production, services, culture and health services.

Thus, social progress under socialism means not simply the quantitative increase of public and personal needs, but also presumes the qualitative transformation, broadening and differentiation of the set of needs. If the basic material needs--for food products in accordance with the rational, scientifically sound norms, for comfortable and good-looking clothing and footwear for the time of year in conformity with the requirements of hygiene and climatic conditions and so on--by and large are limited, and therefore the share of the expenditures on the meeting of these needs in the budget of the family will decrease as the well-being increases, the other most important needs, both personal and especially public, will be developed infinitely along with the development of social production, which creates new needs and at the same time the means of meeting them.

Such is the very general trend of the development of socialist society, a trend which is permeated by a profound internal dialectics. The process of broadening the sphere of needs in our country is occurring intensively, especially those needs, the meeting of which requires the production of goods of a great technical complexity. Thus, following radios, televisions, cameras, refrigerators, tape recorders and so on private motor vehicles, portable calculators and so on are rapidly becoming a part of everyday life. It is clear that the increase of the consumer's freedom of choice--in conformity with his personal needs, tastes and aspirations--should be accompanied by the corresponding increase of the production and quantity of goods being sold in the trade network and by the enlargement of the range of goods, good quality, high quality goods, which satisfy the esthetic senses of people. What has been said also fully applies to other areas, in which the needs of citizens are met--public dining, services, housing and public transportation, medical aid, the health resort business, the organization of tourism and so on. Here we are confining ourselves to the examination of trade.

When analyzing the social role of trade under present conditions it is impossible not to consider that some phenomena of a temporary nature are superimposed on the above-indicated long-term, permanent trends. For a number of reasons, first of all as a result of the rapid increase of the monetary income and consumer demand of the population of the country, the increase of the needs in some areas for today has outstripped the increase of production. Accordingly a shortage of meat and dairy products, and in a number of regions of the country fruit and vegetables and

Industrial goods, such as cotton fabrics and knitwear, motor vehicles and other durable goods, is being felt in state and cooperative trade.

The problem of the shortage cannot be regarded as a purely economic problem, by its nature it is an extremely social problem. Indeed, a shortage of goods in trade places customers in an unequal position, since the possibility of acquiring a "scarce item" depends not so much on the availability of honestly earned money as on "the unearned ruble" or on acquaintances, connections and proximity to the sources of supply or, finally, on the availability of reserves of free time to go to the stores. Since the level of supply is differentiated by regions and population centers, a shortage increases commuting. For example, many of the people who come to large cities often head here for the purchase of scarce goods in the trade network. The different level of supply also influences the migratory flows with respect to regions, affecting the balance of manpower resources in the Nonchernozem countryside of the RSFSR and the regions of the northern and eastern parts of the country, which are being developed.

It is impossible, in our opinion, to regard the deficit, that is, some shortage in the supply of some goods (or services) or others, as "an absolute evil," this would imply a one-sided approach to the matter. Within certain limits a shortage is quite nature, for example, in the case of the appearance of fundamentally new goods, the production of samples of fashionable clothing, footwear, haberdashery items and so on. A shortage becomes a social problem when the mechanism, by means of which it is possible to "liquidate" it comparatively rapidly and easily--by the prompt organization of the mass production of goods of increased demand or by the regulation of supply and demand by a flexible price policy (as is being done, for example, in Hungary)¹ or, finally, in special cases (as occurred during specific periods in the USSR) by the more efficient regulation of marketable commodities and their more efficient use--is disturbed.

At present the factors, which are responsible for the shortage in trade of some groups of goods or others, are different. The amount of livestock products, which are being received by trade, is not completely meeting the effective demand (in the case of the given level of prices) because production has lagged behind the amounts, which are necessary for meeting the needs of the people in accordance with the scientifically sound norms, and behind the increase of the monetary income of the population. The shortage of the majority of types of book products (and in part of journals as well) stems from the need of the people for books, which has increased immensely as a result of the implementation of a universal secondary education. The slow increase of the production of paper in many ways is also hindering the meeting of the book shortage. At the same time the production of fabrics, clothing and footwear, while being as a whole adequate with respect to the quantitative indicators, differs substantially from the requirements of consumers with respect to the quality and assortment.

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1. The problem of eliminating the shortage by price policy requires a special study, which goes beyond the tasks posed in this article. The question of the advisability of the practice, which has received some dissemination, of distributing a number of goods of increased demand through labor collectives, in accordance with the orders of participants in the war and so on also merits a special examination.

The socioeconomic functions of trade as the most important unit of the sphere of circulation are twofold: it should, first, "attune" production to the meeting of the changing needs of people and, second, with the least expenditures of national labor efficiently meet in all the regions and population centers of the country the needs of citizens for those goods which are plentiful. Today Soviet trade is performing both of these functions, but not completely, which is responsible for the numerous reproaches of the working people concerning the operation of both individual trade organizations and the management of the trade service of the population.

When appraising the above-noted sociopsychological phenomenon one should, in our opinion, take into account a kind of "optical aberration." The consumer is inclined to attribute first of all "to the account" of trade the blame for the lack on the counters of stores of the needed goods, as well as for the need to spend considerable time on searching for and purchasing them. Such discontent is aroused to an even greater extent in those instances when citizens have occasion to run into frequent violations of the regulations of trade--the putting aside of goods, difficulties when turning in glass containers, the rudeness of salespeople and cases of overt and concealed extortion. In spite of repeated instructions and prohibitions, the instances of the compulsory sale of necessary goods in sets and the imposition of unrequested services are frequent. Thus, for the purchase of a spare part for a motor vehicle, which is not available in the store, the owner of a vehicle is forced to turn to a motor vehicle service enterprise, where the cost of the spare part is much greater than the face value, since money is collected for unrendered or simply unnecessary service. The forms of concealed extortion, the "fruits" of which go directly into the pocket of the workers of trade, are no less well known--these are the giving of short weight and miscounting, the sale of goods at overstated prices, the receipt of bribes for scarce items, which are sold under the counter, and so on and so forth. It is possible not to conduct special public opinion polls, as well as a content analysis of the letters of readers to newspapers in order to establish the increasing public discontent with the overall state of trade.² Such a frame of mind is also characteristic of the majority of workers of services--those who honestly and conscientiously fulfill their official duty.

In reality, of course, by no means only trade, but also the sectors of physical production and the irregularities in the economic mechanism are "guilty" of the shortage. In the works of some economists, who specialize in the covering of the problems of trade, this obvious circumstance serves as a kind of justification of the troubles in trade [10]. Therefore it seems advisable to examine in sequence both of the above-mentioned functions of trade, while devoting the primary attention namely to the social aspect of economic relations and to their reflection in the consciousness.

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2. In the editorial of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA of 6 April 1982 it is noted that about half of the letters, which are received by the Administration of Trade of the Sverdlovsk Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, are complaints about the lack of goods and the rudeness of salespeople. The urgent problems of trade and services are more and more often becoming the subject of fiction. Of the works of recent times let us note, for example, such works as "Zmeyelov" [The Snake Catcher] by L. Karelin and "Univermag" [The Department Store] by I. Shtemler.

The influence, which trade and the system of public dining have on the formulation of the plans of the production of agricultural products and industrial consumer goods, at present is obviously inadequate. The orders of trade organizations for nonfood consumer items are taken into account by industrial enterprises and associations not entirely in accordance with the quantity and even less in accordance with the products list, the assortment and the quality. In quality some domestically produced consumer goods are inferior to imported consumer goods, which under the conditions of the expansion of foreign trade relations adversely affects the demand and the sale of clothing, footwear, knitwear, furniture and so on, which are produced in the country. Soviet enterprises can produce many industrial goods at the level of world standards. The samples, which are displayed at exhibitions and wholesale trade fairs when concluding trade contracts for delivery, serve as confirmation of this. But with the changeover to mass production the quality of the goods turns out to be much worse than that of the exhibition models. The monitoring of the quality of goods at bases and stores has been relaxed. Wherever the proper demands are made, an unfavorable picture forms. Thus, for example, the specialists of the Karelian Republic Trade Base of the RSFSR Office of Wholesale Clothing Trade in 10 months of 1981 rejected 72.1 percent of the items received from two garment enterprises of the Armenian SSR. Trade organizations often refuse to purchase obsolete models of footwear and clothing, and frequently it is a question of large batches of goods. As a result a situation forms, which is very accurately expressed in the title of an article prepared by one of the central newspapers on the basis of the mail of readers: "Shortages in the Presence of Surpluses" [11].

Some units of the economic mechanism are not promoting the display of the proper demandingness on the part of trade organizations. Thus, the Moskva Department Store of the capital in 1978 rejected industrial goods worth nearly 3 million rubles. The careless producers paid 204,000 rubles in fines, but the department store was forced to transfer this amount in full to the state budget. Thus, the store did not recover even the expenditures on the wages of the staff inspectors [12].

Trade organizations are forced to decrease the level of demands for the reason that trade organizations, bases and stores, by refusing to accept a given batch of goods, may lose the suppliers, since the latter have the right to choose other partners in the future. It is not trade (and through it the consumer), but industry that "runs the show." Its fulfillment of the plan is evaluated according to the indicator of sold products, the enterprises are interested in achieving it with the least difficulties. As a result, on the one hand, the mass production of obsolete styles of clothing and models of footwear is continued and, on the other, the enterprises in pursuit of the gross output strive to produce items which are a bit simpler, but are a bit more expensive in price. As a result customers are justly complaining that it is becoming difficult to purchase inexpensive items [13].

We should especially dwell on the role of cooperative trade in the purchase and sale of surpluses of agricultural products, which are produced on the private plots of rural residents and in the horticultural and gardening cooperatives of workers and employees, as well as are received from the gathering by the population of wild berries, mushrooms, nuts and medicinal plants. The possibilities existing here for the present are being used entirely inadequately, due to the inflexibility and slowness of cooperative workers, transportation workers and local soviets. Thus, the sale to consumer cooperatives of meat at the commission price in 1980 for the country came to 252,200 tons, which per urban resident yields approximately 700 g a

year [5, p 431]. The successful work of a number of rayon unions of consumers' societies proves: the scale of commission trade can be increased sharply in a short time. For this there are needed: an efficiently organized system of purchases; the timely delivery of transport, which is stipulated by the agreed date; the stimulation of production on private plots by the "counter" sale of fodders for livestock, simple tools of labor, chemicals, construction materials, as well as scarce consumer goods. The Belorussian cooperative workers, for example, have assumed the obligation to double during the 11th Five-Year Plan the purchase and sale of agricultural products! The organization of livestock fattening stations at public dining enterprises, which makes it possible to use completely the food scraps, can play an important role in the accomplishment of this task. At the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum it was emphasized that the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives is called upon "to turn to face the private plots and to promote their normal activity" [4, p 16].

Cooperative trade for the present is still participating very timidly in trade on the kolkhoz market. However, the very concept "kolkhoz market" has ceased to correspond to the real state of things. Even in Krasnodar, the capital of the richest agricultural region, the share of kolkhozes and sovkhoses on the kolkhoz market in 1980 came to only 4 percent [14]. Today the kolkhoz market in essence is a field of individual trade, along with the salespeople, who sell at free prices the surpluses of the products produced by their own labor, middlemen and speculators often appear at it. The spot checks, which were made in 1981 by the newspapers SOVET-SKAYA ROSSIYA and BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY at the markets of Moscow, clearly showed: the sale of southern fruits, grapes and early vegetables had in fact been monopolized by groups of enterprising businessmen, who had been able to set up the local purchase and the regularly delivery of these goods from Azerbaijan to Moscow, their storage in private homes and their sale at the market [15]. The experience of the GDR, Hungary and Czechoslovakia attests that with the efficient organization of purchases of surpluses of agricultural products from the population and the flexible shifting of prices it is possible to fight successfully against speculators. In itself it is clear that economic steps should be combined with the tightening up of the control on the part of financial and law enforcement organs.

The improvement of commission trade in food products can promote a decrease of the prices on the kolkhoz market. However, so far the opposite trend is being observed. The comparison for a comparable group of products yields the following figures: in 1970 the prices on the kolkhoz market were 55 percent higher than in state trade, while in 1980 they were 109 percent higher, that is, more than twofold higher [5, pp 424-425; calculated by the author]. The expansion of the network, the improvement of the organization of trade and the strengthening of the material and technical base of the kolkhoz markets, which are envisaged by the Food Program, should contribute to the increase of their role in the supply of the population with food products and to the decrease of the market prices.

Thus, the further development on a contractual basis of truly cost accounting relations between trade organizations and public dining enterprises, on the one hand, and industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhoses and the producers of products on the private plot, on the other, is becoming a vital necessity. This is an important lever, by means of which trade can and should increase its stimulating influence on the increase of the production of goods for personal consumption, as well as some simple means of production, which are used in the household and on the

private plot. Thereby it will promote the approximation by production of the already formed and changing needs of the population.

It is a question namely of truly cost accounting relations, that is, such relations, when the results of economic activity in the case of the complete and timely meeting of contractual obligations determine not only the amount of the bonuses, but also the bulk of the wages of the members of the labor collective, starting with its managers. That is why, in our opinion, the steps stipulated by the decisions adopted in 1979 by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the improvement of the economic mechanism--in the area which concerns the interrelations of trade and the sectors of production, which meet the needs of the population--need further improvement. Of course, the extension of cost accounting relations should take place on the basis of centralized state planning, which establishes the basic structural proportions and indicators of the development of sectors in physical terms. The more complete use of cost accounting relations in a planned economy for the purpose of its optimum orientation toward meeting the quantitatively increasing and qualitatively changing needs of the people has nothing in common with the concept "market socialism," which in point of fact rejects conformity to a plan in the development of the economy.

The second function of trade is closely connected with the first. The extension of the cost accounting relations between trade and industry, trade and agriculture of necessity requires the intensification of the cost accounting relations in the sector itself and the improvement of the economic ties between bases, trade organizations, warehouses, stores, dining rooms and restaurants and, furthermore, within labor collectives.

Goods, which are produced by industry in abundance, at times are absent in the trade network of some republics, oblasts, cities and rayons or others. Some dishes, which can be prepared in the necessary amount from products which are plentiful, in exactly the same way are absent at dining rooms, cafes and snack bars, since the administration regards them as "unprofitable." In one of the letters, which was published in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA TORGOVLYA, it was noted, for example, that in Tyumen ballpoint pens once disappeared from the counters [16]. Instances of the absence at stores of salt, matches and so on have been recorded here and there. Vegetable dishes and garnishes are not sold in many dining rooms and especially dining cars--great efforts have to be spent on their preparation, the profit is minimal. The intolerability of such a situation, when "interruptions in the sale of goods which are available at bases and warehouses" are permitted, is indicated in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the further development of trade [3].

One of the causes of these shortcomings consists, in our opinion, in the poor effectiveness of a number of forms of material stimulation and in the weak material interest of the workers of trade and public dining in the timely supply of customers with goods and in a high quality of service. Meanwhile such shortcomings in the work of trade and public dining, as is known, have a negative influence on the mood of people and adversely affect labor discipline and productivity. Thus, in spite of the most categorical instructions of the USSR Ministry of Trade, the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives and so on to the appropriate organizations the complaints of working people about difficulties when turning in glass containers, scrap paper and other types of secondary raw materials--resources, which the

population has in abundance and which are so necessary to industry--are not ceasing. But instructions, even the most strict ones, as is known, do not replace daily organizing and educational work. The inordinately large losses during the transportation and storage of vegetables and fruit at bases and abuses when determining the amounts of their natural loss have become the talk of the town [17].

Circumstances of an objective and subjective nature are creating obstacles to the effective campaign for the improvement of the trade service of the population. The objective circumstances are the shortcomings of the economic mechanism, which exist both in the relations of trade organizations with the enterprises of industry and agriculture and within trade itself. The material interest of the trade organization and the public dining enterprise and of each of their workers so far has not been directly linked with the end result of the activity of the given labor collective on the meeting of the needs and the high quality service of the population.

At the same time as the improvement of the economic mechanism, which for the specific labor collective means the change of the objective conditions of its economic activity, both when studying the problem and in the practice of management more attention should be directed to the factors of a subjective order. Among them in trade, as everywhere, there are the style of economic activity and economic thinking of the managerial personnel and the level of labor discipline and responsibility of the workers of all ranks. It is necessary to overcome the sluggishness "in the fulfillment of the instructions of the party and the government on the establishment of firm order in the observance of the regulations of trade, the eradication of mismanagement, losses and other negative phenomena" [3]. The extension of cost accounting relations in trade and public dining should be accompanied by purposeful ideological and political work, at the center of which are the tasks of the communist education of the working people.

Today the improvement of the activity of the sphere in question of the national economy, as in others, should be ensured not by the increase of the number of those employed, but by the increase of the quality of work. In 1980 7.3 million people (in average annual terms) were employed in retail trade and public dining [5, p 421]. A negligible increase of the number of workers of trade is envisaged in 1981-1985. This means that it is proposed to achieve the substantial increase of the commodity turnover--by 22-25 percent [2, p 176]--almost entirely by the improvement of the technical base of the sector and the organization of labor, the increase of its productivity, the broadening of the service areas and the increase of the amount of work being performed in order to ensure "the sale of the increasing amount of goods with the same or a smaller number of workers" [3].

We should especially dwell on one of the most important social goals of the trade service of the population--the decrease of the time which is being spent on the purchasing of goods at stores and on going to public dining enterprises. A considerable portion of the nonworking time of working people is presently being spent inefficiently due to the insufficient saturation of the market with goods and the poor organization of the operation of enterprises of the sphere of material services, including trade and public dining. Meanwhile the experience of a number of enterprises (the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant, the Rostsel'mash Plant and others) shows that workers and employees can spend a limited amount of time for lunch in the plant dining room. The losses of time at the stores of new cities and city microrayons, where the placement of trade enterprises into operation, as a rule,

is delayed as compared with the placement of housing into operation, are especially large. According to the data of mass studies, when purchasing nonfood consumer items the waiting in lines takes up 30-40 percent of the time, while the payment for the purchase takes up 20 percent of the time which is spent on acquiring goods. As a whole, according to the estimates of experts, the workers of industry on the average in a week spend on the purchase of goods: men--2.9 hours, women--5.8 hours, while they spend respectively 3.6 hours and 4.5 hours on caring for children and raising them [18], that is, these are times expenditures on the order of 1. A working woman spends even more time in stores than on caring for children and raising them! Such a situation should be deemed intolerable.

Let us examine in conclusion another important social problem of trade. The progress of socialist society includes, and as a necessary component, the social development of the detachment of many millions of workers of trade and public dining. The gradual formation of a society, which is uniform in social class structure, presumes the overcoming of the differences not only between the main social groups of society--the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, the intelligentsia--but also between the social strata and detachments, of which they consist. Already today with respect to many parameters (socioeconomic, sociopolitical, sociocultural) the intraclass differences at times are more significant than the interclass differences. It is especially important to take this circumstance into account when examining the prospects of the social development of those detachments of workers, employees and specialists, who are employed in such a specific sphere of the economy as trade and public dining.

The bulk of the working people of the sector are workers (salespeople, cooks, waiters, helpers, loaders and so on). Of the total number of 9.7 million people, who in 1980 were employed in trade, public dining, supply and marketing and procurement, 7.7 million, that is, 79 percent, or four out of five people, were workers [5, pp 358, 360]. In its socioeconomic status and social nature this is a special, and significant, detachment, which makes up approximately 10 percent of the entire working class of the country.

The specific nature of this detachment appears in the following. Female labor predominates in the sector (84 percent of those employed are women) [5, p 361]. The average wage of the workers and employees in the sector in 1980 came to 138.2 rubles as against 185.4 rubles in industry and 202.3 rubles in construction, that is, it was respectively 25 and 32 percent less [5, pp 364-365]. The amount of payments and benefits from the public consumption funds per worker here is also less, since trade organizations are worse supplied with holiday homes, dispensaries, sports bases and medical institutions and build less departmental housing than industrial enterprises, especially large ones. The fact that the average size of the labor collective in retail trade and public dining comes to a little more than seven people [5, p 421; calculated by the author], while the labor collectives in industry, construction and agriculture number in the hundreds and thousands of people, also plays an important role.

The differences in the nature of labor are the most substantial. On the one hand, the technical equipment of labor in trade and public dining is incomparably lower than in industry; manual labor, often physically difficult labor, predominates in the sector. And whereas with respect to some operations and categories of workers the indicator of the mechanization of labor is increasing owing to the

containerization of freight and the furnishing of large dining shops and the utility rooms of department stores with equipment, for many categories of workers of trade and public dining the facilitation of labor and the improvement of its conditions remain a problem which for the present is being worked on very slowly. In the future the salesperson should become (like the present salesperson in the specialized store of radio equipment) an intelligent adviser of the customer. The labor of such a worker presumes a vocational training on the level of the tekhnikum, that is, the transformation of the salesperson into a specialist.

On the other hand--and this seems especially important--the labor of the majority of workers in the sphere in question involves the service of clientele--the customers in stores and the patrons of dining rooms, cafes and restaurants. This circumstance leaves a significant mark on the sociopsychological character of the workers and employees, who are employed in the sector. The ideological and educational activity, which has been repeatedly indicated in the decisions of the CPSU, should be organized specifically, with allowance made for the peculiarities of all the detachments and strata of the working people. In the labor collectives of trade and public dining the greatest importance is being attached to the cultivation of such personality traits as honesty, courtesy, smartness, self-discipline, a good disposition with respect to patrons, initiative and efficiency in their service.

The above-noted traits determine the face of the bulk of the workers of those collectives, in which an atmosphere of intolerance with respect to light-fingered people, boors, slovens and loafers has been created. But, unfortunately, negative phenomena (enough was said about them above), which undermine in the eyes of the population the prestige of the occupations of salesperson, waiter, merchandising specialist and store manager, are also widespread. As a result a quite definite shift, which has been established by public opinion polls, has occurred in the appraisals of the prestige of labor in trade (and in general in services). Whereas in the eyes of some people this prestige is declining, among certain people, who are disposed to acquisitiveness, the appeal of the mentioned occupations is increasing. Not by chance has the competition for trade specialties at vocational and technical schools, tekhnikums and higher educational institutions increased, while for many working class occupations the system of vocational and technical education is faced with underenrollment, and the competition for technical higher educational institutions in recent decades has decreased.

The eradication of negative phenomena in trade and public dining is a truly national matter. Along with the auditing activity of superior organs the broadening of the people's control over service enterprises is a most important lever of their elimination. It is especially important to tighten up the control of trade union organizations both within plants, factories, sovkhoses and institutions and in city districts, rayons, villages and cities. Usually the groups of the People's Control check the dining rooms at enterprises, the work of stores, warehouses, bases, dining rooms and public refreshment stands, as well as kolkhoz markets are rarely in their purview.

The increasing role of trade and public dining in the economic and social progress of Soviet society at the present stage urgently requires the creation of a sociological service in the sector. It is quite clear that the main role in the scientific backing of the organization of trade belongs to economic science. But the interconnection of economic and social processes and the increase of the

orientation of planning and management toward the solution of social problems are responsible for the increasing importance of concrete sociological studies. Their most important feature, as is known, consists in the comprehensive approach to the phenomena of social life, which are studied by sociology in the unity of the economic, political and cultural ideological, objective and subjective factors. This presumes the study of public opinion, the life plans and aspirations and the value orientations of people. The determination of the needs of the working people, which are established today, and the forecasting of the development of these needs are impossible without an organized system of the constant study of consumer demand. The campaign against abuses in trade and public dining and in services presumes the careful study of the channels, through which the so-called unorganized redistribution of the income of the population takes place, the attitude of different categories of the population toward such phenomena as tips, bribes in the case of the acquisition of scarce goods, the level of prices on the kolkhoz market and so on and so forth.

The planning of the economic and social development of oblasts, rayons and cities is impossible without the determination of the really existing and future need for the development of the trade network and public dining enterprises. Finally, the economic and social planning of the development of the labor collectives in this sector presumes as the scientific basis the study of the socio-occupational structures of the employed people, the psychological climate in the collectives, the degree of satisfaction with labor and the demands of the different categories of workers.

In trade and public dining, in which the number of tasks facing the sociological service is, perhaps, greater than in other sectors, the sociological service is in fact taking just the very first steps. In our opinion, the question of introducing it only at a few institutes of the national economy the specialization in sociology on the basis of an economics education is ripe.

One must not, of course, regard the creation of a sociological service in the organization of the USSR Ministry of Trade and the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives as a means, by which the lag of trade and public dining behind the needs of society, which formed over a lengthy period, will be completely overcome. But the organization of the matter in trade unquestionably needs immediate improvement with allowance made for the recommendations of economists and lawyers, sociological and psychological science. As the historical experience of the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries attests, economic and social progress under the conditions of socialism is impossible without the improvement of the relations of distribution, which is accomplished on the basis of conformity to a plan with the use of commodity-money relations. Under the new historical conditions, as in the past, the instructions contained in the last works of V. I. Lenin on the need for the management of trade, as the most important sphere of the economy, which ensures the linking of the interests of the masses of the population with production, sound topical. The apt remark of Lenin "the ability to trade and the ability to manage" [1] directs attention to the utmost subordination of trade to the end result of social production under socialism--the more and more complete meeting of the increasing needs of the people.

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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FOOD PROGRAM: SOCIAL ASPECTS

TASK OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 29-37

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Vladimir Ivanovich Staroverov, chief of a sector of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Tasks of Rural Sociology in Light of the Decisions of the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The most important questions of the development of mature socialist society, including the present agrarian policy of the party, underwent creative development in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum gave concrete expression to and specified the basic directions of this policy. In the Food Program of the USSR for the Period to 1990, which was approved by the plenum, and in the decrees endorsed by it the collective wisdom of the party is embodied, the versatile experience of not only socialist agriculture, but also the entire Soviet economy is interpreted, the opinion of scholars and the population of the city and the countryside is taken into account, the suggestions of various organs and departments, labor collectives and party organizations are studied. While having as a goal "the meeting of the vital demands of the Soviet people" [3, p 5] (let us recall that agricultural products and the goods produced from them make up three-fourths of the consumption fund), these documents have acquired a genuinely national importance.

Bourgeois Sovietologist-agricultural experts are attempting to represent the USSR Food Program as a sharp turn in the agrarian policy of the party, which has been

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forced to depart from the former policy in this area due to the "crisis" state of socialist agriculture. However, it is well known that the average annual production of agricultural products increased in our country during the last three five-year plans by 1.5-fold, while in the EEC countries it increased by only 31 percent and in the United States by 29 percent. According to the data of the FAO, the average per capita consumption of foodstuffs in the world comes to 2,590 calories a day, in the developed countries of the world--3,329 calories a day, including in the West European states--3,378 calories a day, in the USSR--3,443 calories a day [7, p 4]. In spite of the fact that the size of the population in the country during these five-year plans increased by 35 million, the per capita consumption of meat increased by 41 percent, milk by 25 percent, vegetables by 35 percent and eggs by nearly twofold. While making up 6 percent of the population of the world, we produce 13 percent of the world amount of grain, 20 percent of the cotton and milk, 10 percent of the meat and 12 percent of the eggs [6, p 8]. These and many other facts attest to the dynamism of Soviet agriculture and the fruitfulness of the present agrarian policy of the party, the basic directions of which were elaborated by the March (1965) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

While developing these directions in conformity with the new tasks, which have been posed by the needs of the assurance of the dynamism and integrity of the development of mature socialist society and its national economy, the decisions of the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum raise to a qualitatively new level the Leninist agrarian policy of the party, which is unchanged in its basic principles. Having guaranteed the Soviet people food, which completely meets their needs for the restoration of their vital strength, and having rid them forever of both hunger and malnutrition, the party set the goal to provide the optimum diet from the point of view of medicine and to meet completely the increasing needs of the population for foodstuffs. The task is also being posed to increase the stability of agricultural production, for its fluctuations affect the functioning and development of the entire national economy, since the majority of sectors to one extent or another depend on deliveries of agricultural raw materials. The steps connected with the implementation of the Food Program, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yu. V. Andropov noted in a speech at the November (1982) Central Committee Plenum, hold today one of the main places in the plans of the party and the Soviet people [4].

In the diverse activity of the working people on the implementation of the Food Program an important role is being assigned to science. New difficult tasks are also arising in this connection for sociology, especially rural sociology, which encompasses, in addition to the sociology of the countryside, agrarian sociology and the sociology of the agrosphere, the sociological theory of the scientific and biological engineering revolution and other specialized theories [8, p 51]. In the article we would like to examine several of these tasks in the interconnection of their theoretical and applied aspects.

In light of the Food Program the problem of increasing the efficiency of the socialist agro-industrial complex by the better use of the available reserves of the production of agricultural products and the improvement of their processing, storage, delivery, distribution and consumption is of the greatest importance.

It is important to stress this in connection with the fact that in some publications devoted to the Food Program it is a question, as in the past, primarily of

the indicators of the increase of capital investments in agriculture, the increase of the deliveries of equipment and mineral fertilizers to kolkhozes and sovkhoses, the enlargement of the scale of the development of new lands and so forth. However, in the case of such an approach the authors, of course, cannot go beyond the group of problems of the extensive development of farming and animal husbandry, while the decisions of the May plenum are aimed at the intensification of agricultural production first of all by means of the already available and, as was shown in the report of L. I. Brezhnev [3], the very significant reserves of all the sectors of the agro-industrial complex and the entire enormous potential of our national economy.

To be sure, the increase of the capital investments by approximately 30 percent for the agro-industrial complex, which is planned for the current decade, and especially their increase in agriculture during the 11th Five-Year Plan by nearly 1.5-fold as compared with the 10th Five-Year Plan will play their role. But this increase is calculated in monetary terms. Meanwhile it is no secret that during the past decade (owing in part to objective, but more so, in our opinion, to subjective reasons, the roots of which lie in the lack of coordination of departmental interests, which is unhealthy for a planned economy) the prices for machinery, equipment and materials for agriculture, planning and construction operations in the countryside, as well as other services of specialized service increased steadily. Taking this into account, it is very ill-considered when interpreting the problems of the implementation of the Food Program to direct one's attention to the increase of financial assets. The main thing today is the new approach to the distribution and use of capital investments, which makes it possible to strengthen those units of the agro-industrial complex, which have lagged appreciably and have turned into one of the basic causes of the losses of agricultural products and the slowing of the growth rate of the production of foodstuffs [6, p 11].

Today it is a question of the material, technical and technological progress of not only farming and animal husbandry, but also all the sectors of the agro-industrial complex. It is well known that tens of thousands of powerful K-700 and T-150, which were delivered through the fault of machine builders to kolkhozes and sovkhoses without the necessary set of trailers, are being used at half capacity. Many vegetables and fruits are perishing in the field due to poor roads, the lack of transport and the inadequate capacity of processing enterprises. And the problem of the ununiform development of the links of the unified chain lies behind these facts and facts similar to them. All this attests to the need for the balancing of the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex at the level of the potentials of the present scientific and biological engineering revolution, which is also taken into account by the strategy of capital investments in this sphere, which was elaborated by the party.

At present in the arsenal of farmers there are already more than 24 million different agricultural machines, including 2.6 million tractors, 1.3 million grain harvesters and special combines. In the production of many types of agricultural equipment our country has taken first place in the world [9]. And it is by no means a question of further increasing its production. The incompleteness of this equipment, the low quality and inefficient use are giving rise to the problem.

The bringing to the forefront of the qualitative approach is also necessary when solving the questions of rural construction, as well as many other problems of the implementation of the Food Program. It is time for science to look critically at

the beaten paths when analyzing the questions of the development of agriculture and the agrosphere. And first of all to reject the theoretical and procedural cliches, to which the obsolete practice of extensive management gave rise. Today sociological studies should be aimed first of all at the study of the social factors of the most complete use of the national economic potential and at the social aspects of the problems of the development of the agro-industrial complex and the increase of its efficiency. This, of course, does not imply the underestimation of the further strengthening of the material and technical base of the agrosphere, which was called for by the May CPSU Central Committee Plenum and which remains a necessary condition of the successful fulfillment of the Food Program, including the effectiveness of social factors. During the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans the capital investments in agricultural machine building and fodder production will increase by more than twofold, machine building for the food industry--nearly threefold, road construction--1.9-fold and municipal services--3.3-fold. As a result during this period in the food industry alone owing to the use of new equipment and advanced technologies the production of meat products in the end will increase by more than 3 million tons, dairy products--8 million tons, vegetable oil--200,000 tons, sugar--2.5 million tons. A significant impact will also be achieved on this basis in the other sectors of the agro-industrial complex [6, pp 11-12].

However, all this is only on the condition of the most efficient use of the enormous resources which are being allocated. Meanwhile we should state the decrease of the utilization ratio in agriculture of equipment and other fixed production capital. First of all this is due to the idle times, the scale of which is increasing more rapidly than the equipment pool itself. Thus, at the beginning of the present five-year plan of the 2,562,000 tractors, which were available in agriculture, on the average 1 in 4 or 5 was not being used in production. During the irrigation period in 1980 for organizational and technical reasons on the average from 6,000 to 9,000 units of sprinkling and irrigation equipment did not work, 19,800 stationary milking machines and units, 11,800 stationary fodder dispensers for large-horned cattle, 4,400 sets of equipment for the pelletization of grass meal and so forth were idle at farms [10, p 28]. In short, just as many tractors as there were in the country in the early 1950's and just as much other equipment as was available in agriculture in the first half of the 1960's were not in use. The unutilized technical potential is equivalent to the pool of machines and equipment of the agriculture of a European country of average development. Moreover, we must take into account the losses connected with the underutilization for some, most often subjective reasons or others of the potential of the equipment being used and the machinery which is not operating at full capacity.

In some instances the reasons for this are connected with the predominance of the departmental interests of individual units of the agro-industrial complex, which decrease the effectiveness of socialist production relations as the basis of the socialist economic mechanism. A typical example is the unequal relations of kolkhozes and sovkhoses with specialized services. In other instances they lie in the imperfection of the intracollective relations. The inadequate development of the personal factor also has an effect.

The decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the improvement of the management of agriculture and the sectors of the agro-industrial complex and on measures on the improvement of the economic mechanism and the strengthening of the economy of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, which were approved by the

May CPSU Central Committee Plenum, are laying good foundations for the elimination of the factors which are hampering the development of the agrosphere and the stimulation of the intensive increase of the production of agricultural products by means of the use of not only material and technical, but also other factors, and first of all social factors. These factors can be effective levers only when their nature, the peculiarities of their action and interaction, the consequences and results are known.

Practical experience itself makes it possible to outline the basic group of the indicated factors. First of all there is the strengthening of the unity of the interests of the workers of the different sectors of the agro-industrial complex.

The problem of the shortage of mineral fertilizers, especially in grain growing, is well known, but the USSR produces a good deal of them. However, a significant portion of this product either does not get to the field due to losses during transportation and irresponsible storage or gets there spoiled, at a time which is not optimal for application.

It is just as well known that the harvest campaign at kolkhozes lasts not 8-10 days, but 1-1.5 months. The machine builders are in part to blame for this. The test batches of equipment are produced by them at the level of world standards, but on the flow line, the farther things go, the greater the deviations from the technology are. Frequently combines arrive from plants with broken seals, so that during the strenuous period the kolkhoz machine operator for a month looks over the machine, tightens nuts, adjusts the assemblies, that is, he does what it is necessary to do under plant conditions. With very small outlays. When discussing these facts at the joint meeting of the Permanent Commissions on Industry and the Permanent Commissions on Agriculture of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the deputies noted that every ruble of capital investments, which is spent in machine building on the increase of the quality and the service life of agricultural equipment, provides an impact of 1.5 rubles or more. The same ruble, which is spent on capital repair, provides one-third to one-half of the impact [9]. At the same time, having set up control, having tightened up the labor discipline of the machine builders and having cultivated responsibility in people, it is possible in general to save this ruble and to obtain the desired result. The deputies admitted that the low reliability, durability and productivity of many machines are explained first of all by the inadequate responsibility of the workers of the central staff of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building and the managers of enterprises and associations for product quality and by the poor monitoring of the fulfillment of the decisions being made. Instead of increasing technological discipline and the level of technical control, the machine builders are forcing the consumer to accept obsolete or incomplete items [9].

An extensive group of social factors of production efficiency appears at the level of sectors and enterprises. It is possible to get some idea of them, having analyzed the specific causes of the idle times and underutilization of tractors.

As was already noted, at the beginning of the current five-year plan on the average one machine in four or five was not in use at kolkhozes and sovkhozes. In part this occurred due to bad weather, the need for maintenance and other planned reasons. At the same time these machines were idle for 59 million tractors-days

for organization and technical reasons, due to the lack of machine operators, as well as their illness and unauthorized absences from work. In all the idle times amounted to 13 percent of the annual available working time of the tractor fleet, which is equivalent to the additional delivery of 300,000 new tractors. However, the tractors, which were not idle, were also not being used at full capacity. In addition to organizational and technical reasons the inability of a portion of the machine operators to utilize the entrusted equipment to the utmost, first of all due to inadequate skills, had an effect here. According to the data of studies, in different zones of the country the average annual output per tractor in conventional hectares subject to the type of machine for a machine operator of the second class is 25-30 percent higher and for a machine operator of the first class is 50-60 percent higher than for a tractor driver of the third class [11, p 30]. Meanwhile today 40 percent of the rural machine operators are of the third class or do not have a rating at all, and their proportion is decreasing very slowly. Thus, in the RSFSR during the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan it decreased by only 2 percent; the proportion of machine operators of the first and second class at the beginning of this decade came to only 60 percent.

For the increase of skills it is sufficient for a tractor driver of the third class to have 2 years of continuous service in his specialty. However, according to our data, among machine operators, who have been working more than 3 years, one in five, as in the past, is of the third class, while some of them do not have a rating at all. The organization of the timely increase of the level of skills of rural machine operators, according to rough estimates, would make it possible to increase the efficiency of the use of the machine and tractor fleet by 25-30 percent, which is equivalent (on the scale of the beginning of the 11th Five-Year Plan) to the operation of 500,000-600,000 tractors. The decrease of labor productivity due to drunkenness plays a significant role in the underutilization of the machine and tractor fleet.

The more perfect the equipment becomes and the more highly productive the breeds of animals and the strains of plants are, the more important the social factors of their use are and the more significant the role of the producer, the level of his skills, attitude toward labor and moral qualities is. Much experience in using these factors has been gained by socialist practice. However, considerable vagueness and gaps are coming to light in this area. Take if only the problem of measuring labor productivity. The methods being used permit a gap between the indicators of productivity and the profitability of production, which makes difficult the search for means of increasing labor productivity and production efficiency as a whole.

There are even greater blanks in the questions of the measurement of the factors of labor productivity and production efficiency at the levels of the individual, the labor collective, the sector, the region and the national economy. Noting that "one must not limit the study of labor productivity to the task of calculating the level and dynamics" of it, Academician V. S. Nemchinov indicated the importance of determining "at precisely what stages and phases of the production process a saving of labor or a loss of working time occurs" [12, p 395], as well as the causes of these losses. Such an approach requires the consideration of the efficiency of each factor which influences the production process, distribution and consumption. In spite of much work of economists in this direction, many social factors remain unmeasured. Therefore in practice the influence of individual factors

for the most part is not taken into account or is planned in general form, primarily as trends. The reason for this situation lies not only in the lack of satisfactory mathematical models of the influence of social factors, but also in the lack of the very classification of these factors, in the inadequate knowledge of the mechanism of their effect. Whereas practice had already turned in the 1960's to the consideration of the factors of the increase of labor productivity primarily in industry and transportation, to this day there are no methods of planning the factors of production efficiency in agriculture, which include the social elements. Today this is one of the priority tasks of the joint work of sociologist-agrarian specialists with economists, social psychologists and other specialists.

At present the following grouping of the factors of the increase of the efficiency of agrarian production is prevalent in economic practice: the factors of scientific and technical progress; the factors connected with natural conditions; the factors connected with the organization of production; the factors connected with the organization of labor. As we see, first of all the factors of the increase of the productive force are taken into account. Understanding the weakness of such an approach, various authors add to the basic grouping one class or another of socio-economic factors, but the latter is rarely given concrete expression. In our research practice we adhere to the following grouping of the factors of the increase of the efficiency of agricultural production.

1. Natural historical factors (natural and climatic conditions and their change by means of the use of chemicals, reclamation, irrigation and similar means; the source animal and vegetable material of production and its transformation by means of genetics, selection and others).
2. Material and technical factors (the level and quality of the mechanization, electrification and automation of production, the level of the technology of the development of agricultural sciences and the introduction of their achievements in practice and others).
3. Organizational and economic factors (the level and nature of the organization of production, its specialization and concentration, the use of the achievements of science and technology, the introduction of advanced know-how, the improvement of the structure and methods of management and others).
4. Economic factors (the forecasting and planning of production; economic analysis, cost accounting, accounting and control; the rate setting of labor, the grouping of jobs according to wage rates, the classification of workers, the optimization of the budget of working time and so on).
5. Social factors, which are connected with: a) the determination and development of the physical, mental and intellectual aptitude of a person for one type of labor or another; b) the elimination of a negative attitude and the development of a positive attitude toward labor and its results; c) the creation of the conditions for highly productive labor; d) the improvement of social relations as a sphere of the activity of agrarian labor collectives.

The first two groups of factors are the most neutral to the social conditions under which they appear. Meanwhile the potential fertility of the soils in the USSR is approximately half as great as in the United States [14], and, consequently, it is

necessary to spend twofold more labor on the production of the same amount of produce. And the climate in the majority of agricultural regions of our country in severity, solar heating and so forth do not compare with the United States, the northern limit of the farming of which runs at approximately the level of Kharkov. Moreover, the regions with an amount of annual precipitation of 700 mm and more account for 60 percent of the plowland of American farmers, while in our country such regions account for only 1.1 percent; arid regions with an amount of precipitation of up to 400 mm in the United States account for 11 percent of the plowland, while in the USSR they account for 40 percent [15, p 26]. As to the material and technical transformation of farming and animal husbandry, in our country it began approximately half a century later than in the developed capitalist countries. This applies not only to equipment, but also to the strains of crops being cultivated and the breeds of animals and poultry. It should be taken into account that the agriculture of the United States, Canada and the countries of Latin America did not experience the burdens of World Wars I and II and, moreover, owing to defense revenues, received massive capital investments for many decades.

In the competition with capitalism socialism can demonstrate (and is demonstrating) its advantage by the development and use first of all of the last three groups of factors. All of them to one extent or another are due to the set of production relations which are characteristic of each specific stage of the development of the agro-industrial complex. Owing to this they are--to a different degree--of a social nature, which makes it possible to speak of the primarily organizational economic and economic essence of the third and fourth groups of factors and of the primarily social content of the factors of the fifth group.

The concept "the social factors of the increase of production efficiency" includes the entire set of social forces, which ensure the efficient activity of man, which is aimed at the production of the products needed by society and their delivery to the consumer. Man himself as the set of all material (production) and ideological (spiritual) social relations is the vehicle of these forces. The latter appear as the motive forces of production, which presumes their multiplicity (owing to the multiplicity of relations) and the need for the choice of the most important ones. The social labor and distributive relations of producers, the same socioeconomic, spiritual, moral and legal relations and so forth, which ensure the development of the physical, mental and intellectual forces of the producers, are the most important. In a narrower sense the social factors of the increase of production efficiency appear as the labor and distributive relations, which are reflected in the consciousness of people, as well as the conditions which ensure the development of the physical, mental and intellectual forces of the producers.

We do not consider the above-cited definitions to be definitive. Much work of rural sociologists and other specialists on the identification of the essence of the social factors, the reserves of the increase of production efficiency and their classification is necessary. As a starting point it is possible to suggest the classification used by us in research practice. First of all let us distinguish the subclass of factors which ensure the development of the aptitude of people for labor: the increase of the standard of living, the development of health service, the comprehensive education and physical development of working people; the improvement of general educational training, vocational guidance and the choice of occupation, vocational training, specialization, the increase of the skills of the working people; the improvement of the sociodemographic and occupational skills

structures, the bringing of them in line with the level of the social division of labor during each specific period of national economic development; the improvement of working conditions and labor safety procedures, the optimum schedule of labor and relaxation, the improvement of services and so on.

In order to get an idea of the importance of these factors, let us cite a few examples. Other things being equal, in the Nonchernozem villages studied by us, which have a developed network of institutions of preschool training and health service, as well as municipal and personal services, the number of children is 12-20 percent higher and the state of their health is better than in villages, which are similar in the status, size and type of occupations of the population and do not have such institutions and services. The level of employment of women is 7-9 percent higher, while their average annual productivity is 6-11 percent higher in the former settlements. Even if we leave aside the social content of these data and translate them into the language of economics, the impact is unquestionable.

The improvement of working conditions today is also a very "profitable" business. In addition to the impact, which is obtainable from the decrease of migration and the turnover of personnel, the average annual labor productivity increases as a result of the decrease of the sick rate and injuries. Having eliminated the losses in agriculture from the sick rate and job injuries, it is possible to increase the real duration of the average annual employment of a worker by 20-35 days [16, p 110].

The factors which ensure a positive attitude toward labor and its results make up another subclass. Among them are: the improvement of the social organization of the enterprise, the improvement of the sociopsychological climate and so on; the improvement of material and moral stimulation; the formation of value orientations which are in full accord with communist ideals, the cultivation of a thrifty attitude toward public property; the increase of the public activeness of workers, the provision of reserves of socio-occupational development; the enrichment of the nature and content of labor, the increase of the prestige and appeal of occupations, the tightening up of labor and production discipline; the backing of cultural leisure, the strengthening of the family and everyday relations of workers and so forth; the increase of the sociological training of managers and the social competence of all working people.

Many studies attest to the effectiveness of these factors. Suffice it to say that a positive sociopsychological climate in the collective alone increases production efficiency by 15-18 percent [17, p 7]. At the same time the formation of a thrifty attitude toward public property and the increase of the responsibility of people for the results of labor would make it possible to save 16 percent of the harvest, and more specifically about 40 million tons of grain, 3 million tons of potatoes and 28-30 million tons of fodders in conventional units a year [18, p 2].

It should be noted that the structure of the social factors of the increase of production efficiency is very dynamic and tends to broaden with the development of the scientific and biological engineering revolution and the social relations of socialism. For the practical use of these factors, including modeling and planning, more detailed groupings of them, which should take into account the specific sectorial nature and level of use (individual producers, labor collectives, regional national economic subsystems, the agro-industrial complex and similar formations,

the national economy as a whole), as well as their situational combinations, are necessary.

Obviously, there does not exist at all such a group of factors, which would be a panacea when solving the problems of increasing production efficiency. Since the development of the material and technical base is inadequately effective without a developed social infrastructure, the social factors should rest on the appropriate material basis. V. I. Lenin indicated that it is possible to build communism "not on enthusiasm directly, but by means of the enthusiasm to which the great revolution gave rise, on personal interest, on personal self-interest..." [1, p 151]. This applies first of all to the solution of the problems of increasing production efficiency as the first condition of the building of communism. Practical experience shows that the most modern specialized enterprises without the creation of a social infrastructure and, on the contrary, the finest rural settlements without changes in the production sphere do not ensure either the stabilization of personnel or the increase of the output-capital ratio.

The social reserves of the increase of production efficiency raise in a new way the question of the levers of management. In recent years attention has been focused primarily on the economy. Of course, this is the origin of origins of management. However, the concern for the development of economic levers should not be accompanied by the relaxation of the attention to the increase of the role of other means of management. The economic interest of the Soviet individual is the sum of many components. In developing it it must not be forgotten that in the case of excessive emphasis on the individual components, the latter can come into conflict with other social interests. Studies show that with the meeting of material interests the ruble as a stimulus of productive labor loses its strength. Moreover, the ruble as remuneration for national labor quite often is less ponderable than the ruble obtained by other means. Material stimulation at the stage of mature socialism remains a necessary condition of production, while people value more and more the moral aspect of labor, its possibilities for their own self-affirmation, self-realization as a harmonious individual.

All this increases the importance of not only economic, but also sociopolitical and spiritual stimuli, and in certain aspects also the administrative levers, which were and will be a necessary means of the assurance of discipline--the basis of all production. The policy elaborated by the party of the fundamental combination of economic, political and ideological educational activity is the methodological basis of the utilization of the factors of the increase of production efficiency [2, p 51].

In this connection the need for sociological studies of a comprehensive nature is increasing. Unfortunately, the study of the social reserves of the increase of the efficiency of agriculture and the agro-industrial complex is still being carried out unsystematically. A certain dissociation of sociological forces in this area is having an effect. Following the All-Russian Workers' Conference "Social Factors of the Increase of Labor Productivity in Agriculture," which was held in December 1971 by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences [13], it was possible only in June 1982 to convene the applied science conference "Social Reserves of the Agro-Industrial Complex" (Kishinev), at which these reserves and factors were examined in the set of tasks of the Food Program. A wide range of problems, the study of which has become an urgent task for rural sociology, was identified.

While directing attention to comprehensive studies of the social factors and reserves of the agrosphere and to the elaboration of methods of planning and management and means of their practical use, the demands of the party dictate the consolidation of the efforts of not only sociologist-agrarian specialists, but all the representatives of rural sociology, as well as scholars of related, especially applied sciences. The documents endorsed by the May (1982) Plenum extend the methodological bases for such cooperation. The agro-industrial complex of the country appears before the researcher as a complicated socioeconomic phenomenon, which ensures the fundamental combination of territorial, sectorial and goal program planning and management. It encompasses the key units of the development of not only agriculture and industry, but also the nonproduction sphere, not only the countryside, but also the city. The problem of the convergence of the city and the countryside, which received at the plenum comprehensive, multi-aspectual coverage, is closely connected with the accomplishment of the Food Program, and a policy of the mutually enriching convergence of the city and countryside was elaborated to counterbalance the ideas of the "pulling up" of the countryside to the level of the city.

In light of these assumptions the so-called abutting problems of the socioeconomic and cultural development of the countryside and the agrosphere, including those which originated from the scientific and technical revolution and urbanization and from the peculiarities of their combination with the developing mature socialist relations, which are of a comprehensive nature, have become more visible. All this is opening a broad field for the joint work of the representatives of rural sociology with the sociologists who are studying urban objects.

The practical use of the social factors and reserves of the Food Program is increasing the importance of the spread of sociological knowledge among the working masses. Often the knowledge acquired by sociologists is set forth in an unnecessarily complicated form, which hampers its spread beyond the scientific sphere. Much work has to be done so that sociological knowledge would become just as customary for the working people as economic knowledge. Sociologists should play an important role in the implementation of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the improvement of the economic training of the working people [5].

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ECONOMIC, SOCIAL PLANNING IN THE RAYON AGRO-INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 39-44

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Vyacheslav Vladimirovich Leshkevich, senior scientific associate of the Sector of Sociological Research of the Belorussian Scientific Research Institute of the Economics and Organization of Agriculture, and Candidate of Economic Sciences Vladimir Fedorovich Tarasevich, chief of the Sector of Sociological Research of the Belorussian Scientific Research Institute of the Economics and Organization of Agriculture: "On the Experience of Economic and Social Planning in the Rayon Agro-Industrial Association"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in italics in source]

[Text] The formation of the national economic agro-industrial complex, which is called for by the decisions of the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, requires an intersectorial approach to the planning of the agricultural sphere of the economy and social processes in the countryside. The rayon unit, in which the

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cooperation of kolkhozes and sovkhoses is directly carried out, is the most important component of the agro-industrial complex. As the experience of planning in our country shows, it is possible to solve the problems of the proportionate formation of the sectors of physical production and the nonproduction sphere and the efficient use of natural and manpower resources only on the basis of a uniform plan of technical, economic and sociocultural development.

Some specialists express the opinion that the plans of the socioeconomic development a rayon should pursue its own goals, goals which are characteristic only of them. The implementation in practice of such an approach will not make it possible, in our opinion, to integrate the plans of enterprises and rayons, since they are compiled with different breakdowns--the sectorial and the territorial. For the truly close coordination of these aspects the plans of the enterprises of the agro-industrial complex should be included in the plans of rayons. Such a statement of the question will make it possible to concentrate forces and to make the maximum use of resources for the solution of problems which are urgent for all the farms. Experience attests that precisely a narrow departmental stand is the main obstacle in the way of the integration and cooperation of enterprises.

The plan of settlement should be the starting point of the preparation of the mentioned documents. This will make it possible to coordinate the construction of production facilities, schools, clubs, hospitals, personal service enterprises and roads with the settlement of social questions.

With allowance made for the stated remarks the Vileyka City Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia and specialists of the Belorussian Scientific Research Institute of the Economics and Organization of Agriculture drafted a plan of the economic and social development of the Vileyka Agro-Industrial Complex of Minsk Oblast for 1981-1990. The document was approved by the session of the rayon soviet and was accepted for implementation.

The agro-industrial complex of the rayon is a quite complex social production formation. It includes 15 kolkhozes, 11 sovkhoses and 17 enterprises and organizations, which provide services and process the agricultural raw materials. The annual volume of the gross output has reached nearly 80 million rubles. A few words about the measures of a technical and economic nature, which are outlined by the plan.

It is envisaged by 1985 to increase the production of milk, meat, grain, flax and vegetables. This will be done by the sharp increase of labor productivity and the further development of complex mechanization in farming and animal husbandry. The drafters of the plan also saw to it to create the most favorable conditions for labor. The construction of houses of the livestock breeder and the machine operator with recreation rooms, showers and other utility rooms is planned.

In the plan attention is devoted to the efficient use of the available resources and to the procurement, storage, processing and transportation of agricultural products. During the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans the enterprises of the processing industry, rural construction organizations, the rayon Sel'khoztekhnika and Sel'khozkhimiya Associations and the enterprises of the reclamation service will undergo further development in the rayon. The construction of new storehouses and warehouses and the renovation of old ones and the installation of additional refrigerators at the creamery are planned.

The increase of the efficiency of the activity of the enterprises and organizations of the agro-industrial complex presumes the further improvement of the system of economic levers and the entire cost accounting mechanism. Along with the centralization of resources the plan calls for the creation of the material and organizational conditions for the development of the initiative and material interest of the farms and the enterprises, which are members of the agro-industrial association. A number of measures on the equalization of the opportunities of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses, which are under different natural economic conditions, and the increase of the economic liability for the efficient use of land, material and manpower resources have been outlined. Centralized funds of the development of enterprises, for sociocultural and housing construction, material incentive funds and a reserve fund are being created within the rayon association. The association has been granted the right to channel the limits of capital investments and material and technical resources, which have been allocated for the kolkhozes and sovkhoses, into the construction of especially important projects, as well as to redistribute if necessary 10-15 percent of these resources among the enterprises and organizations.

A set of measures of a social nature is a fundamental part of the plan of the development of the agro-industrial association. A small settlement system of settling has formed in Vileyskiy Rayon. At the beginning of 1982 there were 428 rural population centers with an average size of 115 people. This circumstance, as well as the unsystematic territorial location of many population centers are checking the improvement of the culture and daily life of the rural workers and the efficient organization of agricultural production and are hindering the efficient control of social and technological processes.

Until recently the transformation of the small settlement system of rural settling in the republic was carried out on the basis of the development of "promising" settlements and the curtailing of small "unpromising" settlements. However, as experience has shown, such a practice does not ensure the optimum socioeconomic development of the territorial community.

In particular, the comprehensive experimental model construction, which has been carried out since 1967 at seven farms of the republic, attests to this. During the experiment new layout principles of the organization of population centers and production zones were subjected to thorough checking, the most efficient types of apartment houses and public buildings were found, the best versions of the engineering support and civic improvement of rural settlements were worked out. At the same time it has not been possible so far by means of the construction of central promising settlements and the resettlement in them of the residents of small population centers to accomplish one of the main tasks--the creation of an efficient system of settlement. Small unimproved villages as in the past exist, and the number of their residents remains at the former level. The number of residents of the experimental settlements has increased mainly due to newcomers from other rayons and oblasts of the country. The elimination of a considerable number of remote villages not only intensified the migration of rural residents to the city, but also led to the premature cutback of private plots.

We are convinced: when planning the socioeconomic development of the countryside it is necessary to reject the division of rural settlements into promising and unpromising ones. Therefore, during the drafting of the rayon plan the task was posed to prevent the further intensive decrease of small villages. A set of measures on the

Further development here of the sphere of cultural and personal service is envisaged by the plan. During the 11th Five-Year Plan many small villages will be linked with the central farmsteads of kolkhozes and sovkhoses by hard-surface roads. At the same time the residents of small and remote population centers, who wish to move to larger villages, are being granted such an opportunity as housing is placed into operation, financial assistance is being given to them by means of the assets of the state and the kolkhozes.

Today on the territory of the rayon there are 370 small villages, a portion of which are the centers of the brigades of kolkhozes and sovkhoses. Of course, for the present it is impossible, and hardly necessary, to ensure in all the population centers--both large and small--an equally high level of development of the social infrastructure. To be sure, the civic improvement of small population centers must be continued. However, the main path of their social progress is the creation for the residents of all the opportunities for the use of the goods and services, which are afforded by the support centers of settlement--be it a nearby city, a large or medium-sized village.

Subject to the functions performed in the unified system of settlement all the residential units of the rayon are divided into the following types. 1. SUPPORT (INTER-FARM) CENTERS. They play the role of economic, cultural and personal service sub-centers of the rayon. The enterprises for the processing of agricultural products and their branches, large cultural and personal service enterprises (houses of culture, trade centers, rural houses of personal services), district hospitals with polyclinics, secondary schools, bathhouses with mechanized laundries, sports structures will be concentrated in them. The main transportation lines should intersect here. 2. THE CENTERS OF KOLKHOZES AND SOVKHOZES. The production complexes of the given farm and the cultural and personal service facilities for the meeting of the everyday needs of the population (clubs, stores, dining rooms, paramedical and obstetrics centers, general educational schools, kindergartens, combined receiving centers of personal service, municipal service combines and so on) are located in them. Such institutions serve the residents of adjacent villages and towns. 3. FUNCTIONAL POPULATION CENTERS of agricultural and nonagricultural specialization. Here it is proposed to organize the cultural and personal service of the population mainly by mobile means, and if necessary by the construction of stores, kindergarten-nurseries and other necessary institutions.

When forming the social infrastructure the task arises to utilize as much as possible the available cultural personal service institutions and the ones being newly set up, regardless of their departmental affiliation. In addition to the existing 5 houses of personal service and 31 combined receiving centers by 1990 it is proposed to put into operation another 6 houses of personal service and 4 laundries. Steps on the training of skilled personnel, the increase of the standards of the service of clients and the changeover to the zero-defect production of items and the performance of repair work are also envisaged. All trade enterprises will be changed over to operation according to the self-service method. Every food store will be furnished with refrigeration equipment. As a whole it is proposed to increase the retail commodity turnover of state and cooperative trade by the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan by 25.1 percent.

Much attention in the plan is also devoted to the improvement of the cultural service of rural residents. By 1990 it is planned to build and to carry out the

renovation of 12 rural houses of culture with accommodations for 2,900 people. The work on the centralization of the club business and the creation of sociocultural complexes, which will unite the functions of both clubs and enterprises of personal service, trade, public dining, health service and educational institutions will be continued.

The complexes are a qualitatively new stage in the development of the cultural life of the countryside. Such a form of the organization of the matter makes it possible to cover by cultural work practically all rural residents and promotes the adoption of the comprehensive approach to the education of the working people. In particular, the experience of the operation of the Naroch Sociocultural Complex of Vileyskiy Rayon attests to this.

Substantial changes will occur in the organization of school education and the work of preschool institutions. By 1990 it is planned to build by means of state capital investments 4 secondary school buildings for 1,960 students and 2 8-year school buildings for 384. By means of the assets of kolkhozes and sovkhoses 17 children's nurseries and kindergartens for 860 will be put into operation. Owing to this by 1990 the level of provision of preschool institutions will have increased by nearly twofold as compared with 1981. Considerable changes will also be made in the area of health service. By the 12th Five-Year Plan it is proposed to put into operation a rayon polyclinic, several out-patient clinics, in a number of population centers the existing medical institutions will be renovated and expanded, first aid service will undergo further development in the countryside.

The road and transportation system, especially the local system, is the weakest section of the economic and social development of the rayon. During the 11th Five-Year Plan more than 600,000 rubles and during the 12th Five-Year Plan nearly 1 million rubles will be allocated by kolkhozes and sovkhoses for its renovation. In the future it is envisaged to organize road repair centers so that each of them would service and maintain at a high engineering and technical level 100 km of roads.

The most important direction of the socioeconomic program of the rayon is the provision of solkhozes and sovkhoses with skilled manpower. The basic problem, with which the managers of the farms are faced in this case, is the high level of migration of rural residents to the city, as a result of which a constant shortage of workmen is being felt. From 1965 to 1981 the size of the rural population in the rayon decreased by 27.6 percent. Skilled specialists up to the age of 30 predominate among the migrants. Thus, during the past 3 years about 1,000 tractor driver-machine operators were trained in the republic. Nevertheless, 17 of the 26 farms were not completely manned with machine operators. During the period of intensive agricultural operations practically all the kolkhozes and sovkhoses experience a shortage of machine operators. The problem of personnel is also acute in animal husbandry. At present among livestock breeders the proportion of young people up to the age of 30 comes to only 4 percent.

According to the data of studies, the main motives of migration are: the desire to have a comfortable daily life; more free time than now; the aspiration to obtain an interesting specialty. Many respondents named as the reasons for leaving the kolhoz or sovkhos the poor organization and conditions of labor. Most often machine operators cite the fact that the unstandardized workday (19.6 percent of those

surveyed), the public health conditions of work (15.2 percent), the lack of a shift system in work and an uneven workload during the year (13.0 percent) do not satisfy them.

The extensive set of measures of a socioeconomic nature, which are outlined by the plan, are called upon to contribute to the decrease of migration. We have already spoken above about several steps in this direction. Let us cite a few figures. Starting in 1982 it is envisaged to allocate for the development of the social infrastructure up to 32 percent of the capital investments. By means of the assets of kolkhozes and sovkhoses during the 11th Five-Year Plan 34,100 m² of housing will be built, 25,800 km of sewer pipes and 11,900 km of water mains (with the installation of hydrants) will be laid. In 1990 the total area of housing per rural resident will have increased to 20.4 m² as against 15.7 m² in 1980. It is planned to carry out construction so as to provide rural families with individual well-appointed houses with private plots and outbuildings for domestic livestock, poultry and personal means of transportation.

Much of what has been outlined has already been accomplished and has been rated highly by the workers of the countryside and party and soviet organs.

The implementation of the set of socioeconomic measures had a positive effect on the efficiency of agricultural production. In 1981 in spite of adverse weather conditions the yield of cereals and potatoes increased considerably as compared with the preceding year, the production of meat and milk increased. The amount of net income for the rayon came to 4,351,000 rubles. In accordance with the results of the socialist competition for 1981 Vileyskiy Rayon was awarded the Challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee.

At the same time to this day serious shortcomings exist in the work of the association. Due to the departmental isolation of the enterprises and organizations it has not been possible to set up the efficient shifting of the material, monetary and manpower resources, which the partners have. The question of the material stimulation of the managers and specialists of the organizations, which serve kolkhozes and sovkhoses, for the increase of the production of grain, meat, milk and other products remains open. Finally, there are no uniform statutes on the procedure of planning and material and technical supply in the system of the rayon agro-industrial association. Without all this it is impossible to ensure the efficient management of agricultural production.

There are also a number of difficulties of a subjective nature. Socioeconomic planning in rayon agro-industrial associations is a relatively new matter. Therefore its level and scientific and organizational support need considerable improvement. The indicators contained in the plans so far are poorly interconnected. This especially concerns the technical and economic indicators and the social indicators as such. Such a situation is the result of not only gaps in the elaboration of the social indicators, but also shortcomings of the very organization of socioeconomic planning in the countryside. At present mainly economists, agronomists, livestock experts and other officials compile the corresponding documents. It is clear that the countryside, just as industrial enterprises, needs its own skilled sociologists. Even if at first it is an economist-sociologist. In our opinion, it is necessary to introduce a course on sociology in the syllabuses as the economics, agronomy and

livestock engineering faculties of agricultural higher educational institutions. At the same time permanent courses or seminars for the further training of the managers and specialists of agriculture in matters of socioeconomic planning should be organized at scientific research institutes. Of course, one should hardly expect that in the immediate future a staff sociologist will appear at every kolkhoz or sovkhoz. In such a situation both the central and especially the local scientific institutions of the social science type should turn to face the countryside. Public councils for social studies and social planning, to which representatives of party, soviet and public organizations and specialists of agriculture would belong, can play an important role in the drafting of the plans of social development.

Much work lies ahead. For the extensive development and the increase of the level of social and economic planning in the countryside are called upon to back scientifically and organizationally the accomplishment of the tasks which were outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress and the May and November (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenums.

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STANDARDS OF THE CONSUMPTION OF FOODSTUFFS

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[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Aleksandr Ivanovich Levin, senior scientific associate of the Central Institute of Economics and Mathematics of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor Natal'ya Mikhaylovna Rimashevskaya, head of a department of the Central Institute of Economics and Mathematics of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Means of Increasing the Standards of the Consumption of Foodstuffs"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in italics in source]

[Text] The task "to ensure the further improvement of the diet of the population by the increase of the consumption of the nutritionally most valuable products" was posed by the 26th CPSU Congress [1, p 176]. During the past five-year plan, along with the increase of the consumption of individual products (eggs, sugar, vegetable oil and others), another picture was also observed. Thus, the average per capita consumption of meat and fish in 1980 remained at approximately the 1975 level, while that of milk and dairy products, fruits and berries decreased slightly [3, p 405].

The Food Program, which was adopted by the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, outlined a set of measures, the implementation of which will help to increase by 1990 the consumption of basic foodstuffs. It is anticipated that by that time, as

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compared with 1980, the average per capita consumption of meat will increase from 57 to 70 kg, milk and dairy products--from 314 to 330-340 kg, eggs--from 238 to 260-266, vegetables and melon crops, as well as fruits--respectively from 93 to 126-135 kg and from 34 to 66-70 kg. Of course, these are only average indicators. In specific regions they will form under the influence of national traditions, the climatic conditions and other peculiarities [2, p 11].

The achievement of higher levels of consumption and a pattern of consumption, which is equal to them, requires not only the expansion of the production of agricultural products and the assurance of their keeping capacity, but also THE INCREASE OF THE STANDARDS OF CONSUMPTION IN GENERAL AND THE STANDARDS OF THE CONSUMPTION OF FOOD-STUFFS IN PARTICULAR.

It is necessary to note that this problem in practice has not yet been studied. Moreover, it has not even been raised in our sociological and economic literature. Meanwhile the analysis of the specific problems and means of increasing the standards of consumption is of very great importance both on the level of the achievement of those indicators, which are stipulated by the Food Program, and for the formation of reasonable needs for foodstuffs and the increase of the degree of their meeting and, consequently, for the increase of the standard of living of the population of our country as a whole.

Since in the special literature there is no detailed specification of the standards of consumption, it is necessary first of all to give a characterization of the essence of this concept. In our opinion, in the most general form it can be interpreted as THE ACHIEVED LEVEL OF THE PRODUCTION AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONSUMPTION OF MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL GOODS AND SERVICES. In other words, in the broad sense the standards of consumption should be understood as some set of achievements of society in the area of the assurance of specific levels, a specific pattern and a specific organization of consumption.

However, the interpretation of this term can also be narrower, namely, the moral attitude toward the objects of consumption, the ability to make it efficient, the ability to ensure the economical use of products.

Thus, the concept in question not only is an indicator of a set of exclusively economic achievements, but also acts as a characterization of the moral state of society as a whole and its individual members, by reflecting the achieved level of the rationalization of consumption as a whole and of foodstuffs in particular. In the latter case it is a question, in essence, of an efficient diet.

This complicated, multi-aspectual problem serves as an object of study of various fields of scientific knowledge--medicine, biology, economics, sociology--each of which interprets its essence in its own way, on the basis of the specific goals and specific tasks of research.

Medicine and biology, for example, view the problem of an efficient diet from the point of view of the metabolic processes which take place in the human body. In these sciences there is usually understood by an efficient diet the diet which meets the energy, plastic and other needs of the body and ensures in this case the necessary level of metabolism. Special norms of the consumption of some products or others, which reflect the indicated requirements, exist [5].

In our opinion, a slightly different approach, in case of which the analysis should not be confined to the exclusively medical and biological aspect, but should include the study of the specific socioeconomic processes and problems of consumption, including the increase of its standards, is needed in economics and sociology. Guided by this approach, we will regard as efficient the diet which meets not only the requirements of medicine and biology, but the scientifically sound recommendations, which have been adopted in socialist society, on the efficient socioeconomic organization of the consumption of products by the population as a whole and its individual groups.

On the basis of such a socioeconomic understanding of the essence of the problem of an efficient diet, the process of making consumption efficient should be regarded, first, as the approximation by the actual consumption of products of the norms recommended by science, and, second, as the improvement of the socioeconomic forms of the organization of the diet of the population.

The first direction in reality finds expression in the increase of the consumption of relatively more expensive products of a high nutritional value (meat, fish, milk, eggs, fruit) and the simultaneous decrease (relative and absolute) of the consumption of inexpensive products (bread, groats, legumes, macaroni items and others).¹ Here the actual consumption of both categories is approximating to a greater and greater extent the efficient norms.

The table gives a clear idea of the degree of intensity of this process. As is evident from the cited data, in the dynamics the process of the "quantitative rationalization" of the pattern of consumption of foodstuffs in our country is constantly taking place (although during the 10th Five-Year Plan its rate slowed slightly). The indicator of the meeting of the needs for them on the average² is also increasing, to which the bottom line of the table attests.

When speaking about efficient norms of consumption, it is necessary to bear in mind their relativity. The point is that the conversion from complex sets of nutrients to consumption is accomplished to a considerable extent by an expert means with allowance made for national traditions, the types of food, its cost characteristics, the possibilities of production and so on. Therefore, the norms of the consumption of products, on the one hand, serve as recommendations with respect to consumption and imply the appeal: maintain efficient consumption (do not overeat!), and, on the other, give an orientation to production: produce foodstuffs in a structure which is close to the efficient structure.

Not only the exclusively quantitative, but also the qualitative indicators are of great importance in the process of making the consumption of foodstuffs efficient. The increase of the quality of consumption in general and of foodstuffs in particular is one of the specific directions of the increase of the standards of consumption.³

The evaluation of the quality of the consumption of foodstuffs is formed from a large number of characteristics—they are the calorie content, the fatty acid and protein composition, the taste properties, as well as the very pattern of consumption, that is, the percentage ratio between the consumption of either individual products or groups of them.

Dynamics of the Consumption of Individual Foodstuffs (kg, on a Per Capita Basis)*

(1) Наименование продуктов	1965 г.		1970 г.		1975 г.		1981 г.		Рациональные нормы потребления (4)
	(2) кг	в % к норме (3)	(2) кг	в % к норме (3)	(2) кг	в % к норме (3)	(2) кг	в % к норме (3)	
(5) Мясо и мясные продукты	41	52,0	48	61,5	57	73,1	57	73,1	78
(6) Молоко и молочные продукты	251	62,0	307	75,8	316	78,0	305	75,3	405
(7) Яйца	124	42,5	159	54,5	216	74,0	245	83,9	292
(8) Рыба и рыбопродукты	12,6	69,2	15,4	84,6	16,8	92,3	17,9	98,4	18,2
(9) Сахар	34,2	85,5	38,8	97,0	40,9	102,3	43,9	109,8	40
(10) Растительное масло	7,1	78,0	6,8	74,7	7,6	83,5	9,0	98,9	9,1
(11) Картофель	142	129,1	130	118,2	120	109,1	105	95,5	110
(12) Овощи и бахчевые	72	55,4	82	63,1	89	68,5	98	75,4	130
(13) Фрукты и ягоды	28	24,8	35	31,0	39	34,5	40	35,4	91
(14) Хлебные продукты	156	135,6	149	129,6	141	122,6	138	120,0	115
(15) В среднем по всем продуктам питания	—	67,0	—	74,2	—	80,4	—	83,6	—

Key:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Name of products | 8. Fish and fish products |
| 2. Kilograms | 9. Sugar |
| 3. Percent of norm | 10. Vegetable oil |
| 4. Efficient norms of consumption | 11. Potatoes |
| 5. Meat and meat products | 12. Vegetables and cucurbits |
| 6. Milk and dairy products | 13. Fruits and berries |
| 7. Eggs | 14. Grain products |
| | 15. Average for all foodstuffs |

* Sources: "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 godu" [The USSR National Economy in 1980], Moscow, Finansy i statistika, 1981, p 405; "SSSR v tsifrakh v 1981 godu" [The USSR in Figures in 1981], Moscow, Finansy i statistika, 1982, p 183; U. G. Chernyavskiy, "Potrebnosti, tovarooborot i potrebleniye material'nykh blag" [Needs, the Commodity Turnover and the Consumption of Material Goods], Moscow, Nauka, 1981, p 149.

All these characteristics do not replace, but supplement each other. Therefore it is necessary to take them into account not in isolation, but in combination. Otherwise the real picture may be distorted. Thus, for example, if we judge from the calorie content, in this respect the actual average diet is at present at the level recommended by science and even exceeds it slightly.⁴ Nevertheless it would be illegitimate to draw the conclusion of the entirely adequate quality of the diet of the population today. The analysis of such characteristics as the fatty acid, vitamin and protein content of products⁵ attests that with respect to these components the actual consumption so far lags behind the recommended norms. Thus, the problem of increasing the quality of the consumption of foodstuffs at present is very urgent.

Two independent (although closely interconnected) aspects of this problem should be distinguished: first, the increase of the quality of the consumption of products as a whole and, second, the increase of the quality of the consumption of

individual products. It is obvious that the increase of the quality of individual products also influences the quality of the consumption of foodstuffs as a whole. However, the latter also depends, as has already been noted, on the ratios of the amounts of the consumption of individual products, that is, on the specific sets of them in the diets.

That is why the so-called rationalization of consumption, by which in this case there is understood the elaboration of specific diets or even simply specific dishes, which provide high quality and full-value nourishment, is acquiring great importance.

The most effective and practicable means of solving this problem consists, in our opinion, in the further development of the public dining network, which has better conditions for the rationalization of consumption, since here it is possible to take as much as possible into account the requirements of the efficient diet--to create special diets which have all the basic components (the calorie content, the necessary fatty acid composition, vitamins, amino acids and so on).

Of course, this is a quite difficult task, the accomplishment of which on the scale of the public dining system is possible only in the case of the use of computers and modern mathematical economics methods. It is advisable, therefore, to develop rapidly the research which is devoted to the use of computers and mathematical economics methods in the matter of the elaboration of diets and the composition of dishes for public dining enterprises of various types--dining rooms attached to plants, factories, mines (with allowance made for the energy expenditures of the workers), dietary and school dining rooms and so on.

Another important aspect of the problem in question is the increase of the quality of the diet of children 1-5 years old. Figuratively speaking, a "code of health" of the entire subsequently life of a person, as is known, is established during this period. Therefore the provision of a full-value diet of children, especially in infancy, is of decisive importance for the health of generations.

The urgency of the problem of the diet of children is also increasing as a result of certain sociodemographic processes which have been occurring in recent times in our country. One of them is the increase of the employment of women in social production. As compared with 1940 the average annual number of women, who are workers and employees, in 1980 had increased by 4.4-fold, while their share in the total number of these social categories had increased during the indicated period from 39 to 51 percent [3, p 361]. In the opinion of specialists, this process has been accompanied by medical and biological changes in the female body. As a result at present, as the data of the USSR Ministry of Health attest, the proportion of children, who need artificial and mixed feeding, in the groups up to the age of 2 months and from 2 to 4 months comes respectively to 22 and 38 percent. According to the estimates of specialists, in the future the average weight of such children will increase [6].

The problem of the diet of children can be solved, in our opinion, first, owing to the expansion of the production of special high quality products (including artificial mother's milk) and, second, by the organization of enterprises (like children's advice bureaus), which would provide children with the necessary diet in conformity with scientific recommendations. Experience of this type has already been gained, in particular, in Estonia. It is necessary to disseminate it everywhere.

The purposeful formation of the demand for products for children, which should be carried out by trade organizations and enterprises, medical, public health and preventive treatment institutions, is also playing a substantial role in the increase of the quality of the diet of children.

Thus, it is a question in reality of the need for the creation of a scientifically sound and, what is the main thing, widely accessible system of the nourishment of children over the entire territory of the country. This is one of the urgent tasks in the area of the consumption of foodstuffs at the present stage.

As was already noted, the standards of consumption are characterized not only by the degree of its approximation of the efficient norms and by the achieved level of the goods and services being used, but also by the moral climate, in which it is carried out or, more specifically, by the attitude toward the goods being consumed and by the ability of the members of society to use them wisely for the meeting of their own needs. At the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum it was noted that a considerate attitude toward food products and their economy are a feature of high standards of consumption [2, p 15].

I would like to direct particular attention to the need for the economical consumption of products in the household, since an overwhelming portion (more than 80 percent) of the effective needs of the population for foodstuffs is met namely here. As is known, under household conditions during the preparation of food, in the process of processing and storing products a quite significant portion of them is lost.⁶ The social and economic consequences of such losses are serious enough so that this circumstance could be ignored. On the economic level this leads to a decrease of the overall level of consumption by the population of foodstuffs, that is, in the end also affects the standard of living. As for the social consequences, by them we have in mind the not entirely healthy "social atmosphere," which frequently forms in families and finds expression in the uneconomical, wasteful or even scornful attitude toward products, first of all bread and potatoes.

Unfortunately, such an attitude, which borders at times even on criminal wastefulness (for example, when bread and grain products are used in large quantities for food for livestock), has become a quite widespread phenomenon.

In many ways such a situation stems from the inadequate, for the present, propaganda work on the formation among the population of aims at the economical use of foodstuffs in the household. At present at best general appeals for economy are being heard, without the concentration of attention on the fact that first of all it is necessary to learn to treat foodstuffs considerately and assiduously in one's own home.

Meanwhile the socialist principle of economy and thrift also fully applies to the household, where the inefficient losses of foodstuffs should be reduced to a minimum. When performing work, which is aimed at the cultivation of an economical attitude toward foodstuffs, it is important not only to cover the negative aspects of their unwise use, but also to show by precisely what and how it is possible to achieve a saving in this matter. In our opinion, special headings in journals and newspapers and cycles of broadcasts over radio and especially television, during which it would be possible to become familiar with means and methods of the economical consumption of products in the household, would be of great benefit.

However, it will hardly be possible to ensure a substantial saving of foodstuffs by using only sociopsychological influence on the consumers. Exclusively economic measures are also needed here. First of all we have in mind the mechanization and automation of household labor in general and the work connected with the preparation of food in particular. Although in recent years the level of supply with durable goods, which mechanize and automate household labor, has increased appreciably (which, incidentally, also attests to an increase of the standards of consumption), this still concerns to a greater extent the objects which facilitate cleaning, washing, the cleaning of laundry and so forth.

The fact that the level of the mechanization and automation of the types of household labor, which are connected with food preparation, in our country continues to remain quite low, to a considerable extent is explained by the limited assortment of kitchen machines, appliances and devices and the inadequate scale of their production. Domestic industry has still not assimilated a large number of goods which are produced abroad (multipurpose kitchen machines, dish washers, ice makers, garbage disposals and so on), while much of what is being produced does not meet not only the need, but also the effective demand: at present, for example, a shortage of freezers (their production was recently set up by our industry), mixers, juice squeezers, implements for cutting products, toasters and others is being felt in trade.

Meanwhile these appliances and machines make it possible to consume products much more economically and decrease sharply the scraps. Therefore the expansion of the production of such durable items is now among the very important tasks, which it is necessary to accomplish precisely within the food problem.

It should be noted that it is necessary to combine the accomplishment of the indicated task with the active formation of the demand for the corresponding goods.

Why, for example, during the first years after the appearance of mixers for sale was the demand for them extremely limited, while selling proceeded slowly? The point is that, as one of the customer surveys conducted at that time showed, about 20 percent of the respondents did not know at all about the existence of such an appliance, while approximately a third, although having heard of it, had no idea of its purpose. And only after extensively organized advertising did the demand for mixers increase so sharply that it exceeded the supply, which up to the present is not ensuring its complete meeting.

Similar situations also arose with freezers, toasters and durable items for other purposes. Thus, during a customer survey in Novosibirsk it was ascertained that 25 percent of them had never heard of the household appliance "electric humidifier," 50 percent did not know about its properties. This good was selling extremely slowly. After the conducting of an advertising campaign the sale of electric humidifiers increased by 90-fold [7].

Returning to the kitchen machines and appliances, which ensure a saving of products under the conditions of the household, it is impossible not to note the following: the now existing retail prices for several most economical types of these products are so high that they are checking the increase of the demand for them. For example, a microwave oven costs 270 rubles. There are few people who wish to purchase it. Meanwhile, subject to the type of raw material, it reduces to approximately

one-seventh to one-fifth the expenditures of time on the preparation of food. Moreover, by means of the elimination of boiling and roasting, which decrease the weight of prepared dishes, the yield of products increases. In short, the high price has blocked the way of the innovation, which is economical and sharply increases the standards of consumption. As a result, the provision of the population with this oven is now estimated in tenths of a percent. In other words, the activity on the formation of demand should be combined not only with the expansion of production, but also with a definite policy in the area of pricing.

The balance of demand and supply is an indispensable condition of the increase of the standards of consumption of foodstuffs. This enables the population to meet most completely its effective demand and to ensure within the framework of the existing monetary income and the formed level of retail prices the optimum pattern of consumption, which corresponds to the scientifically sound notions about an efficient diet.

The urgency of the problem of the balance of demand and supply on the market of foodstuffs has especially increased now, when a shortage of individual food products, particularly of animal origin, is being felt in trade. As a result the effective demand for some of them for the present is not being completely met; a so-called unsatisfied demand, the existence of which checks the processes of the rationalization and increase of the standards of consumption, is arising.

The formed situation is giving rise to the need for the sociological analysis of the specific nature of the formation, the causes of the emergence and the forms of the manifestation of the unsatisfied demand of the population for foodstuffs. First of all let us note that the latter in sociological studies is quite often identified with deferred demand. However, these are essentially different concepts which should be clearly demarcated. The unsatisfied demand cannot be realized in goods (or services for a fee) owing to their absence on the market or lack of conformity to the demands of customers. Actually it is the sum of monetary assets, which have not found a backing with goods and have been accumulated in savings banks or in the hands of the population.

As to the deferred demand, its realization is deliberately postponed for reasons which are connected not with a shortage of goods, but with the temporary absence of the conditions for their use. It is possible to consider as a deferred demand, for example, the monetary assets which are intended for the purchase of goods of seasonal use--bicycles, motorcycles, motorboats, items for engaging in winter sports and so forth. They are all usually available in sufficient quantity, but are bought up during the season of use. It is understandable that with respect to foodstuffs a deferred demand does not exist at all, since the need for them constantly exists.

The money, which backs both the deferred and the unsatisfied demand, can be accumulated at savings banks or in the hands of the population. But in the former case, in contrast to the latter, the monetary accumulations are neither an economic nor especially a social "danger." One of the undesirable consequences of the unsatisfied demand is the possible complications in the implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor. The point is that this principle should be considered completely realized not when the working people have received wages for their labor, but only when they have used them for the necessary goods and

services. The existence of unsatisfied demand can reduce labor activeness and decrease the efficiency of all social production. Unsatisfied demand also adversely affects the behavior of consumers, leading at times to the search for antisocial or even illegal means and sources of the meeting of needs.

Therefore, the increase of the degree of satisfaction of the effective demand in general and of the degree of its satisfaction for foodstuffs in particular should be regarded not only as a condition of the increase of the standards and quality of their consumption, but also as an important social and economic problem.

Sociological surveys and special calculations show: at present an unsatisfied demand is being observed for a number of foodstuffs, and even for goods which are sufficient as a whole, for example, baked, confectionary, macaroni and groat items, which is connected with the shortage of individual products within these commodity groups.

The existence of unsatisfied demand attests to a lack of balance of demand and supply on the market of foodstuffs, the cause of which is, on the one hand, their inadequately extensive production (which, as is known, during the last two five-year plans to a considerable extent was due to adverse weather conditions for the development of agriculture) and, on the other, the increase of the monetary income of the population, including due to the denaturalization of distribution at kolkhozes, which leads to an additional demand for foodstuffs.

It is important to note that an unsatisfied demand for foodstuffs is characteristic of not only the well-to-do and average, but also the relatively needy categories of families. A special socioeconomic study, which was conducted in Taganrog in 1978-1979, showed this (the method of instantaneous observations was used; 1 week, during which 1,000 families were surveyed simultaneously, was chosen during each of the four climatic seasons).

An unsatisfied demand for foodstuffs frequently gives rise to a so-called impulsive demand, which finds expression in the fact that the customer, when an assortment of goods (including scarce goods) is available in the store, purchases them even if he had not specially intended to do this. According to the data of the above-mentioned survey, the impulsive demand for meat and meat products came to 21.6 percent of the total amount of the realized demand, sausages and smoked products--26.5 percent, animal oil--12.5 percent, fish--57.2 percent and so on.

An important feature of the process of the formation of an unsatisfied demand for foodstuffs should be stressed: in the absence of the necessary foodstuffs a switch to others, which are for sale, as if occurs. As a rule, goods of one aggregated subgroup or another are the object of such a "switch," although in principle a switch of the unsatisfied demand to other products, which in no way are considered substitutes of those absent from the assortment of the store, is also possible. The unsatisfied demand, which forms in the case of such a switch, takes the form of so-called latent unsatisfied demand, which, in contrast to overt unsatisfied demand, is not represented by money, since it is realized by the purchase of other goods.

In economic and sociological literature latent unsatisfied demand at times is called "switched" demand. However, this term is a not entirely apt one, which does not completely reveal the essence of the phenomenon behind it. Moreover, the switch to

other goods may occur not only due to a lack of those, for which the demand was initially shown, but also for other reasons--for example, under the influence of advertising, the advice of a salesperson or simply in connection with a change of the intentions of the buyer. It is clear that such switched demand does not have any bearing on unsatisfied demand--either overt or latent demand.

According to our data, in those instances when the switch of the latent unsatisfied demand occurred for goods, which are not substitutes for the lacking goods, the customer, as a rule, was discontent with the purchase. Thus, in the case of the switch from meat and meat products to other goods the proportion of those discontent and only partially content with the purchase came to 71.4 percent, from sausages and smoked products--59.2 percent, from fish--66.6 percent. If the switch of the unsatisfied demand occurred within the same group (for example, dairy products, canned vegetables), the satisfaction with the purchase was complete (100 percent positive responses).

The main means of eliminating the unsatisfied demand for foodstuffs is the expansion of their production, the increase of the quality and the improvement of the assortment. As was already noted, important measures aimed at the meeting of these requirements are outlined by the USSR Food Program.

However, the achievement of a balance of the demand and supply of foodstuffs as a necessary condition of the increase of the standards of their consumption is impossible without the improvement of the policy in the area of distribution and pricing. It is a question first of all of bringing the prices of foodstuffs closer to the socially necessary expenditures of labor on their production and sale. This concerns to the greatest extent those food products, the cause of the shortage of which is not only inadequate production, but also the low (as compared with the socially necessary expenditures) level of the retail prices.

Of course, the changes in the correlation of retail prices should be carried out not in isolation, but within the framework of a general and thorough reform. It is necessary to combine the increase of the prices for some goods with their decrease for others, particularly for ample goods. A deviation of the prices from the socially necessary expenditures with allowance made for the actually forming ratio of demand and supply is possible for individual consumer items.

The problem of increasing the flexibility of retail prices, especially for products of seasonal production (vegetables, fruit, berries), is of very great importance. It is well known that its amounts in many ways depend on weather conditions, but this circumstance at present is simply not being taken into account. The retail and purchase prices have remained stable from year to year and change only in accordance with the climatic seasons. Such a situation, on the one hand, checks the possibilities of increasing the production, sale and consumption of vegetables and fruits and, on the other, leads to the lack of conformity of the wholesale and retail prices for these products to the actual expenditures on their production.

The point is that during good years the production cost of a unit of agricultural products decreases, while during bad years it increases. In the case of stable retail and purchase prices in the former case the demand may be less than the supply, while in the latter it may be greater. As a result a lack of balance of demand and supply is observed, a situation forms, in which during good years a significant

portion of the vegetables and fruits perish in the fields and warehouses, while during bad years a strained situation is created by them in trade.

In this connection, in our opinion, it is advisable to introduce in the practice of setting prices for foodstuffs of seasonal production the principle of the flexible change of purchase and retail prices subject to the specific climatic conditions and the yield of one year or another. Moreover, since in the different natural and climatic zones and regions of the country the yield of a given year may be different, the right of such a change of retail prices should be granted to local organs.

Much attention is being devoted in our country to the development of the private plot, considerable space, in particular, is allotted to this question in the Food Program.

The private plots provide approximately one-fourth of the gross output and 12 percent of the commodity production of agriculture, while taking up in this case only 2.8 percent of all the planted areas. The private plots account for 64 percent of the total production of potatoes, 33 percent of the vegetables, 31 percent of the meat and 30 percent of the milk [3, pp 204, 208, 225]. The share of private plots in the consumption of the corresponding products is also approximately the same.

Along with such forms of assistance to the private plots, which have already given a favorable account of themselves, as the allocation of young animals, the supply of seed, the granting of plots for haying, it would also be advisable to broaden the forms of cooperation of the private plots with state and kolkhoz-cooperative enterprises. It is a question of the involvement of the owners of private plots and personal plots (including those who are not members of a kolkhoz and do not work at a sovkhos) in work on the kolkhoz and sovkhos fields, which lie fallow for some reason, but are suitable for farming, on the condition of the delivery of a set portion of the obtained crop to the public farms.

Of course, other forms of labor cooperation are also possible. Practice will show, which of them will be more acceptable and efficient. One thing is clear: a discussion of these question is at least necessary.

The marketing of the products produced by the private plots is also an important problem. At present they are sold on the kolkhoz market (both outside and within the village), in the network of consumer cooperatives at contract prices and by sale to state procurement organizations. The kolkhoz market within the village, the commodity turnover of which is steadily increasing, is the main channel of marketing: whereas in 1970 it came to 4.2 billion rubles, in 1975 it came to 5.2 billion rubles and in 1981--8.1 billion rubles respectively [4, p 177].

As to the new form which has recently appeared--the buying up of the products of the private plots by kolkhoz markets with subsequent sale to the population--it has so far not become widespread owing to the lack of a material base which is adequate for its development. It seems advisable (of course, as a temporary measure) to involve state stores, as well as public dining enterprises in this matter.

Thus, the solution of the problem of the standards of the consumption of foodstuffs requires the implementation of an entire set of important socioeconomic measures,

which affect the most diverse aspects of the life of our society. The further increase of the standards of the consumption of products can be ensured precisely on the basis of such a comprehensive approach.

FOOTNOTES

1. It should be noted that the definitions "expensive" and "inexpensive" products are not identical to the concepts of products of "high" and "low nutritional value." Inexpensive products (for example, potatoes) can also have a high nutritional value. Moreover, the idea of nutritional value is very relative and frequently changes with the appearance of new scientific data.
2. This indicator was calculated as the simple arithmetic mean of the indicators of the meeting of the needs for individual products. Here with respect to those of them, the actual consumption of which during specific years exceeded the recommended efficient norms, the degree of satisfaction of the needs was taken to be 100. Let us note that at times it is proposed to calculate the above-mentioned indicators by the "weighting" of them by the average prices of the goods. However, this can only distort the real picture. Precisely physical indicators, and not value indicators, characterize more adequately the needs and consumption. Therefore, in our opinion, for the evaluation of the degree of satisfaction of the needs of the population on the average with respect to all foodstuffs it is more correct to use the method suggested here.
3. Unfortunately, the term "the quality of consumption" is usually used in our scientific literature in the narrow sense. Meanwhile this concept characterizes quite completely and clearly the process of the meeting of needs, by reflecting the quality of not only the goods and services, which are used for this, but also the very forms of service, including the household, within which a significant portion of the needs of the population is met.
4. As the socioeconomic study conducted in Taganrog in 1967-1968 showed, at that time the recommended diet according to the calorie content had already been achieved and even exceeded.
5. Although these characteristics are also expressed by quantitative indicators (it is believed, for example, that for each protein calorie there should be 2.7 fat calories and 4.6 carbohydrate calories [5, p 249]), they determine precisely the level of the quality (but not the quantity) of the consumption of foodstuffs.
6. We do not have accurate data on these losses, since special studies of this kind have not been conducted. Meanwhile it would be useful for not only economists and sociologists, but also medical people, psychologists and engineers to have such information. It is necessary, in particular, for the making of socioeconomic studies, which are connected with the study of the household, for the analysis of medical and biological problems of nutrition and for engineering calculations for the designing of kitchen machines and appliances.

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MIGRATION AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 54-61

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Viktor Ivanovich Perevedentsev, senior scientific associate of the Institute of the International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Population Migration and the Development of Agricultural Production"]

[Text] The fulfillment of the Food Program, which was adopted by the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, essentially depends on the provision of agriculture with manpower, its quantity and quality, the distribution of workers, "the balance of the available workplaces and the workplaces being created with manpower resources" [1]. In turn the provision of agriculture with labor depends to a decisive extent on the migration of the population.

For many decades the rural population was and remains at present the main source of the increase of the number of city dwellers. Even during the past intercensal period the net migration of rural residents to cities, as well as the transformation of rural settlements into urban settlements provided more than half of the total increase of the urban population. Rural population centers are transferred to the category of urban population centers usually after the substantial change of their national economic specialization and the considerable increase of the residents as a result of the influx of migrants. It must be borne in mind that the natural increase of city dwellers in many ways occurs owing to rural migrants, for in the overwhelming majority these are young people who, having moved to the city, as a rule, have children.

As is obvious from Table 1, the net migration of rural residents to cities in 53 years came to 93 million people, or 70 percent. The proportion of city dwellers increased from 18 percent in 1926 to 64 percent in 1982, while the proportion of rural residents, accordingly, decreased from 82 to 36 percent [2; 3, p 7].

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Table 1

Increase of the Urban Population of the USSR*

Years	Increase of city dwellers due to the migration of the rural population and the transformation of villages into cities	Natural increase of city dwellers	Total
Millions of people			
1927-1938.	24.5	5.3	29.8
1939-1958.	31.6	8.0	39.6
1959-1969.	21.4	14.6	36.0
1970-1979.	15.6	12.0	27.6
1927-1979.	93.1	39.9	133.0
Percent of increase			
1927-1938.	82	18	100
1939-1958.	80	20	100
1959-1969.	60	40	100
1970-1979.	57	43	100
1927-1979.	70	30	100

* Sources: "Narodnaseleniye stran mira. Spravochnik" [The Population of the Countries of the World. A Handbook], Moscow, Statistika, 1978, pp 475, 476; "Naseleniye SSSR. Po dannym Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseliniya 1979 goda" [The USSR Population. According to the Data of the 1979 All-Union Census], Moscow, Politizdat, 1980, p 3.

Being a necessary element of the economic and social development of the country, the mass migration of the rural population to cities provided industry and all the other "urban" sectors of the national economy with manpower. In this case did a shortage of the latter arise in the countryside?

The opinion that agriculture of the country as a whole is experiencing a shortage of manpower resources, is widespread. On this basis opinions are being expressed about the need to decrease sharply or even to halt completely the migration of the rural population to cities (what is meant is the net migration, that is, the preponderance of the migration of rural residents to cities over reverse migration).

Is this the case in reality? Let us turn to statistics.

In 1981 the proportion of rural workers in the total population of those employed in the national economy of the country in average annual terms came to 20 percent [3, p 155]. However, in fact there are more people who work in this sector, since many types of labor here are of a seasonal nature. If a kolkhoz farmer works 6 months in a year, he will be included in the statistics (in average annual terms) as half a person. At the beginning of 1981 the agricultural population of the country was 63.7 million, or 24 percent. Judging from the proportion of able-bodied people in the population, more than 30 million people are employed in agriculture [4, p 7].

There are no data close to these in any other industrially developed country of the world. It is illegitimate to speak of a shortage of manpower resources in rural areas for the country as a whole. The problem, in our opinion, consists in something else--the contrasts in the distribution of manpower in agriculture by individual regions.

The level of the provision of agricultural production with manpower is different even within a single republic. According to the estimate of specialists, if for the RSFSR as a whole it is taken to be 100, it ranges from 153 in the Volga-Vyatka Region to 61 in the Northwest and 49 in the Far East. On the scale of the entire country "these differences will be even more significant, if one takes into account such regions as Central Asia and Transcaucasia, where there are large reserves of manpower" [5].

According to the data of agricultural statistics, in labor-abundant regions labor productivity in agriculture and its growth rate are substantially lower than in labor-scarce regions. Moreover, natural conditions do not play a special role here. For example, in 1980, which was successful for agriculture of the entire country, on the average in the labor-abundant regions, where with the exception of Belorussia and the Volga-Vyatka Region there are the most favorable natural conditions (the Northern Caucasus, Transcaucasia, Moldavia, Central Asia, the Southwest Ukraine), the gross output per kolkhoz farmer came to 1,599 rubles, while in the labor-scarce regions (the Northwest, the Center, the Urals, Western and Eastern Siberia, the Far East and Kazakhstan), where primarily there are comparatively poor natural conditions of agricultural production, it came to 2,471 rubles, that is, 55 percent more. Let us note that the lowest indicator was in Central Asia--1,126 rubles, while the highest was in the Far East--3,182 rubles [6].

The differences in the provision with manpower stem from the peculiarities of the migration of the rural population--its excessive outflow from some areas, while there is low mobility in others. The most important problem of the migration of the rural population consists, therefore, not in the fact that too many people are leaving the countryside, but in the fact that they are leaving primarily places where there is no one to work.

The rural residents of the RSFSR, Belorussia and Lithuania migrate the most intensively, while those of the republics of Central Asia migrate the least intensively. Thus, in the middle of the last intercensal period the net outflow of the rural population in the RSFSR, Belorussia and Lithuania amounted in a year to 24-25 people per 1,000, while in Uzbekistan, Turkmenia and Tajikistan it came to only 4 [7].

This is having the result, along with the differences in the natural movement of the population, that in some instances the number of rural residents is decreasing rapidly, in others it is increasing even more rapidly. The data cited in Table 2 attest to the dynamics of the rural population of the union republics during the time which has passed since the 1959 census.

As we see, in 22 years the rural population of the RSFSR decreased by 27 percent, Belorussia--26 percent and Lithuania--23 percent, in Uzbekistan, Turkmenia and Tajikistan it increased respectively by 75, 83 and 97 percent.

Table 2

Dynamics of the Rural Population of the Union Republics*

Republics	Size of rural population, thousands			1981 as a percentage of 1959
	1959	1970	1981	
RSFSR.	55923	49098	41012	73
Ukrainian SSR.	22722	21438	18712	82
Belorussian SSR.	5575	5094	4125	74
Uzbek SSR.	5390	7477	9452	175
Kazakh SSR.	5228	6471	6786	130
Georgian SSR.	2331	2446	2412	104
Azerbaijan SSR.	1931	2553	2889	150
Lithuanian SSR.	1665	1557	1289	77
Moldavian SSR.	2242	2439	2360	105
Latvian SSR.	919	887	777	85
Kirghiz SSR.	1370	1836	2235	163
Tajik SSR.	1335	1823	2631	197
Armenian SSR.	881	1010	1050	119
Turkmen SSR.	816	1125	1512	183
Estonian SSR.	521	475	438	84
For the country as a whole	108849	105729	97680	90

* Source: "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g." [The USSR National Economy in 1980], Moscow, Finansy i statistika, 1981, p 11.

It should be noted that for the RSFSR this indicator reflects a situation which is characteristic not of all its rayons. Thus, whereas in many oblasts of the Nonchernozem Zone the number of rural residents has decreased to one-half or less, in a number of autonomous republics of the Northern Caucasus it has, on the contrary, increased sharply.

During the period from 1970 to 1981 the rural population of Orel Oblast decreased by 34 percent, Kostroma Oblast--31 percent, Bryansk and Kalinin Oblasts--30 percent, Tula Oblast--29 percent, Ryazan Oblast--28 percent, Novogorod, Pskov, Yaroslavl, Gorkiy and Kirov Oblasts--27 percent [8].

In connection with the fact that primarily young people are leaving the countryside, in the majority of oblasts of the Nonchernozem Zone an inefficient, one-sided age structure of the population has formed, in which the proportion of middle-age and old people is very large, while that of young people, and therefore children, is very small. This circumstance predetermines the further rapid decrease of the size of the population of working age even apart from migration, since there are many fewer people, who are approaching working age, than people who are leaving it; the former cannot replace the latter quantitatively, especially as they should also replace those who have died at working age.

Moreover, the proportion of commuters, who work in cities and workers' settlements, as well as the proportion of those employed in the countryside, but in nonagricultural sectors, are increasing rapidly in the countryside. The proportion of both categories in the places of a great outflow of rural residents, as a rule, is

substantially greater than in places with a not very mobile population. Thus, in 1970 of the entire employed rural population of the RSFSR the people working in agriculture accounted for 54 percent, while in Tajikistan they accounted respectively for 75 percent [9].

At present a significant surplus of manpower resources is being felt in Central Asia, Southern Kazakhstan, Transcaucasia, the Northern Caucasus, Moldavia and the Western Ukraine, and an acute shortage of manpower is being felt in the agricultural production of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR, the Urals, Siberia and the Far East.

Here, for example, is what the situation is like in Pskov Oblast, which is typical for the Nonchernozem Zone. At the beginning of 1982 there were here, according to the data of the oblast administration of agriculture, 21,300 workers of animal husbandry, while 26,200 were needed, tractor driver-machine operators--respectively 14,300 and 25,000, truck drivers--6,100 and 7,600. The shortage of other categories of workers is being felt even more strongly. (Let us note that the need for them was calculated on the basis of the planned volume of agricultural production, which itself bears the stamp of a shortage of manpower.)

The lack of their own necessary manpower is forcing kolkhozes and sovkhoses to resort to the assistance of students, school pupils and the representatives of industrial enterprises, construction projects and institutions. The scale of such enlistment is increasing rapidly--in 1970 for the country as a whole (in average annual terms) 600,000 people were enlisted, in 1975--1 million, while in 1980--1.3 million [4, p 282]. If each of them on the average spent in the countryside 1 month, the total number of those who worked temporarily in agriculture would come to more than 14 million, which is equal to approximately a half of the able-bodied rural population. The economic and social impact of such "assistance" is small. In the unanimous opinion of the people closest to this matter (the chairmen of kolkhozes, the directors of sovkhoses, brigade leaders and so on), three temporary workers can, at best, replace one of their own workers.

No one, apparently, now doubts that in the Nonchernozem Zone and a number of other regions of the country it is necessary to increase the number of workers of agricultural production and in any case its further decrease must not be allowed. In the opinion of many people, it is possible to achieve this by the attachment to the countryside of a large number of young people who are graduating from school. Here it is being overlooked that there are considerably fewer young people who are coming of working age than the people who are approaching retirement age.

Let us cite a specific example. At the incomplete secondary school of the Zarechenskiy Sovkhoz of Novorozhevskiy Rayon of Pskov Oblast in 1984 four people graduated from the eighth grade. Of them two intended to enroll in an agricultural tekhnikum, one--in an agricultural vocational and technical school and one--in the ninth grade of the secondary school. As we see, the level of "attachment" is very high. However, will this yield much, taking into account that at the Zarechenskiy Sovkhoz there are 260 workers instead of the 443, who are necessary for the fulfillment of the planned amount of work, while of those who are available there are several tens of workers of retirement and preretirement age?

Undoubtedly, the shortage of manpower is affecting the agriculture of the entire Nonchernozem Zone. In conformity with the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures on the Further Development of Agriculture of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR," which was adopted in 1974, the capital investments in agriculture were increased sharply (2.8 billion rubles in 1970, 5.1 billion rubles in 1975 and 7 billion rubles in 1980), the share of this zone in the capital investments in agriculture of the republic and the country increased substantially. The volume of agricultural production during the 10th Five-Year Plan, as compared with the 9th Five-Year Plan, also increased here, but for the present by only 0.3 percent, while the analogous indicators for the RSFSR and the country as a whole same to 5 and 9 percent respectively [10; 4, p 204]. Moreover, wherever the situation with manpower was less than the average, the decrease of production continued. Thus, in the same Pskov Oblast its volume decreased by 10 percent.

Given the age structure of the rural population, which has formed in the Nonchernozem Zone, the real danger of the further aggravation of the problem of manpower resources is emerging. The attraction here of manpower from other regions could be a solution to the formed situation.

What is now being done in this direction (in 1982 50 families from Krasnodar Kray and 10 families each from Lipetsk and Voronezh Oblasts moved to Pskov Oblast) can be called half-measures. For the population of the villages of the Pskov area from 1970 to 1981 decreased by 137,000. As to intra-oblast migration, that is, from cities and workers' settlements to kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the same oblast, such migration can be effective only when in the cities the demand for manpower is reduced substantially, on the basis of mechanization. Otherwise migrants from the villages of the same oblast will take the places being vacated, that is, quantitatively it will not be possible to obtain any gain here.

In the literature it has been repeatedly noted that by the middle of the 1970's a decrease of the outflow of the rural population to cities had occurred. As L. L. Rybakovskiy believes, the indicated trend "can be explained by two factors: on the one hand, by the change of the age structure of the rural population and the increase in it of people of older ages, who are notable for less migratory mobility than young people; on the other hand, by the convergence of the standard of living and way of life of the urban and rural population" [11].

Undoubtedly, all this is so. But, another reason, in our opinion, was the main one--the sharp increase of the growth of manpower resources during the second half of the 1970's for the country as a whole. During 1976-1980 it achieved an unprecedented, unique amount for the entire history of the Soviet state--13.8 million people from 20 to 60 years old. During the preceding five-year plan this indicator came to 8.5 million, during the 11th Five-Year Plan it will be equal to 7.7 million, while during the 12th Five-Year Plan an increase is not anticipated at all, the number of people of this age range will decrease [12].

The demographic situation, which had formed by the middle of the 1970's, was responsible for the smaller need of cities than before for additional manpower, since its internal (in the cities themselves) increase was considerable. Not everyone who wants to is migrating from the villages, just the number which the city "needs" and which it can provide with work and housing. In the RSFSR during the 12th

Five-Year Plan there will be a very large decrease of the population of working age. According to the 1970 census there were 1.6 million fewer children up to the age of 5 in the republic than people from 40 to 45 years old [13]. During 1986-1990 the former will come of working age, while the latter will leave it. The need of cities for additional manpower will increase sharply, which will stimulate migration from the countryside to the city. Without an influx of people to the sparsely populated rayons of the Nonchernozem Zone it is impossible to slow substantially the mentioned process.

In our opinion, the solution of the problem should consist in the following: a portion of the urban population of the Nonchernozem Zone, which in the recent past moved to the city, returns to the countryside; residents of cities from the southern labor-abundant regions of the country, to which, in turn, the surplus rural population of these rayons moves, settle in its place.

Let us explain the proposed scheme. A certain number of the recent migrants to cities are not content with their status (some still do not have "normal" housing, others do not like the job, still others are experiencing psychological difficulties and so forth) and would like to return to their native areas. Let us note that the magnitude of the flow of migrants in the direction "city--countryside" for the country as a whole from year to year has amounted to approximately half of the reverse flow, and those who were not able to "fix themselves up" well in the city or to adapt to urban conditions, predominate in the former. At the same time many of these people continue to live in the city. It is expedient also to stimulate precisely their return.

The arrival in the countryside to people who recently left it has at least two advantages--first, the process of adaptation, which is inevitable for other categories of migrants and usually takes place with difficulty and over a long time, is practically absent for them and, second, they are well acquainted, as a rule, with the specific nature of the agricultural production of the Nonchernozem Zone. Experience plays an important role in agriculture. A good corn grower from the Kuban, for example, will not necessarily be a good flax grower.

Of course, it is necessary to stimulate--both materially and morally--the migrants from cities to villages. The expenditures on their provision with relocation and travel allowances and housing, the granting of credits and the provision of assistance in setting up house inevitably justify themselves. The moral appraisal of their action and the attitude toward them as highly conscious members of society, who are taking part in the solution of an important problem, should also be appropriate.

Here it is necessary to ensure a faster rate of the mechanization of labor both in agriculture (which will contribute to the attraction here of manpower from cities) and in urban industry, so that a shortage of manpower would not arise there.

It is a question here not of the mass resettlement of the representatives of the indigenous peoples. First of all what is meant is the most mobile portion of the population of the southern republics, where many Russian, Ukrainians and people of other nationalities live. Thus, according to the data of the 1979 census, there are 9.3 million Russians and 1.2 million Ukrainians and Tatars each in Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

As specialists point out, in recent times the migration from southern regions to northern regions, including from Central Asia to the Nonchernozem Zone, has begun to exceed the reverse migration [14]. Having established a system of specific material and moral stimuli, it is possible to see to it that the flow to northern cities would substantially exceed the opposite flow.

And, finally, the last, but most important point of our scheme is the migration of the rural residents of the southern regions to local cities.

The rural population of the southern regions of the country in general and of Central Asia in particular is not very mobile and is characterized by a low level of not only migratory, but also socio-occupational mobility.* For the increase of the mobility of rural young people in these areas the implementation of an entire set of measures seems necessary, particularly the following measures: 1) the increase of the level of the actual general education. The training of the rural school children of Central Asia in such subjects as chemistry, physics, mathematics and Russian frequently does not meet the present demands, which substantially complicates migration to cities. One of the most important causes of inadequate knowledge is the systematic long-term diversion of pupils for agricultural work; 2) the orientation of school pupils, starting with the lower grades, toward the city, urban specialties and the urban way of life; 3) the vocational training of young people, especially girls, in "urban" occupations directly in the villages, since in the rural families of Central Asia parents are opposed to their daughters studying at city vocational and technical schools and living in dormitories;¹ 4) organizational and economic assistance in moving from the countryside to the city. In much the same way as the migration of city residents to villages is being stimulated in the Nonchernozem Zone, in Central Asia the moves from the countryside to the city should be stimulated; 5) assistance to newcomers in the "mastering" of the city and the urban way of life, in the sociopsychological adaptation to the new conditions.

Without the rapid urbanization of Central Asia and the increase in its population of the proportion of city dwellers (it is especially low in Tajikistan) it is very difficult to solve the problem of the labor abundance of this region and the problem of the employment of the rapidly increasing manpower resources. At the same time the urbanization of the Central Asian republics will contribute to the increase of the supply of the northern regions of the country with manpower.

* See the article of D. I. Zyuzin in this issue of the journal--editor's note.

1. In the Central Asian republics there are many populous villages, with 5,000, 10,000 and more residents each, among whom the proportion of young people is high. For example, in the village of Kostakoz (the Tajik part of Fergana) there are 10 (!) secondary schools, at each of which there are more than 1,000 students. Meanwhile the closest vocational and technical schools, particularly the agricultural vocational and technical school, are located in the oblast center. It should be noted that vocational and technical education is worse developed in Central Asia than in any other part of the country. Thus, in 1981 in 16 of the 41 administrative rayons of Tajikistan there was not one vocational and technical school.

It is well known that it is considerably easier to attract the population to one place of residence or another than to prohibit it there. The factors, causes and reasons for the rush of the rural population to the city have been studied quite well [see 15]. In most general form it can be said that the desire to move to the city is due to the higher standard of living and better conditions. A policy of eliminating the socioeconomic, cultural and everyday differences between the city and the countryside has been pursued in the country for a long time. Appreciable positive changes have been achieved in this direction. However, the differences still remain significant, while modern educated young people perceive them more keenly than people of the older generations and do not wish to work under the conditions which satisfied their fathers and grandfathers. Girls in the Nonchernozem Zone in practice are not going to the livestock farms, in spite of the high wages. Thus, for example, in Pskov Oblast at the beginning of 1982 of the 7,231 milkmaids 2,916 were over 50 years old, but only 685 were under 30.

Girls in general are now leaving the countryside more actively and earlier than boys, which is creating the very acute "problem of marriageable girls." In 1982 at the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the Pskov area for every 100 men 16 to 30 years old there were only 79 girls of their own age.

The data of many studies attest: not only girls, but also mature women, the mothers of families, are less content with the living conditions in the countryside than men. To a great extent this is due, undoubtedly, to the difficult rural way of life. The household and private plot rest here in practice on the woman, which requires very much time and effort. The rural woman, as special studies of the budgets of time show, is very overworked, her total workday (in social production and at home) is inordinately long, while there is almost no free time [16]. The great expenditures of labor in the household are connected with the lack of amenities in the rural home and with its complete lack of engineering equipment. The private plot is very labor-consuming due to the fact that it is not mechanized.

In our opinion, it is necessary to develop a type of individual rural house with all types of conveniences. The reorganization of the village, which was proposed by construction departments--by the construction everywhere of agricultural ~~ties~~ and urban-type settlements--proved unsuccessful, it was necessary to reject it. However, so far there is no full-fledged version of an individual residence which withstands comparison with a good city apartment.

Rural housing construction according to the urban type to a considerable extent was explained by "the saving on service lines." The new individual residences are being built, as a rule, without them, but also without the conveniences customary for the city--water supply, central heating and so on. It seems that a better way out of the present situation is the construction of completely electrified individual rural houses, in which all the conveniences are provided by electric cable. An electric stove in the kitchen, an electric water heater in the bathroom, the supply of water by means of an individual electric motor from an individual well, electric heat, if necessary electric air conditioning. This will lead to an enormous saving of time and effort in household labor, the radical improvement and facilitation of everyday life and the freeing of a significant portion of the time for work in the public sector.

For some reason designers usually believe that the countryside should in its development follow the same path that the city followed, in particular, it should introduce municipal boiler houses, public water supply and so on. I believe that the countryside in some respects should overtake the city, "without catching up with it," and should use earlier some modern achievements of science and technology. This will help to make up for certain inevitable shortcomings of the countryside as a habitat as compared with the city.

The measures of the social development of the countryside, which are outlined in the Food Program, should speed up substantially its convergence with the city in living conditions, which, undoubtedly, will also have a favorable effect on the migration of the rural population and on the provision of agriculture with manpower.

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[Article by Z. T. Golenkova and F. R. Filippov: "Sociological Theory and Social Practice"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

PRESTIGE OF SOVIET SOCIOLOGISTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 69-70

["Text" of speech by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences T. V. Ryabushkin at the 10th World Congress of the International Sociological Association in Mexico City: "The Prestige of the Scientist, the Prestige of Science"]

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SOCIOLOGY OF LABOR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 70-72

[Article by G. N. Sokolova: "An Important Direction of Research Developments"]

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INFORMAL ECONOMICS IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALIST SOCIETY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 72-74

[Article by V. M. Alferov: "'Informal Economics' in Contemporary Capitalist Society"]

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SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 74-76

[Article by A. A. Matulenis: "The Theme of the Discussions Is the Sociology of Education"]

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PROBLEMS OF THE FAMILY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 76-80

[Article by E. Tiyt: "The Object of Study Is the Family"]

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SOCIAL PLANNING, FORECASTING

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 80-83

[Article by I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada: "Future-Oriented Sociology"]

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MASS MEDIA SOCIOLOGY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 83-85

[Article by B. M. Firsov: "New Trends in Mass Media Sociology"]

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APPLIED RESEARCH

EVALUATION OF MULTIPLE-SKILL BRIGADES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 86-91

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Lev Naumovich Kogan, head of the Chair of the Theory of Scientific Communism and Sociology of the Ural State University imeni A. M. Gor'kiy, and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Docent Anatoliy Vasil'yevich Merenkov, the Chair of the Theory of Scientific Communism and Sociology of the Ural State University imeni A. M. Gor'kiy: "Multiple-Skill Brigades: Opinions, Evaluations, the Experience of Adoption"]

[Text] The brigade form of labor is being studied intensively by the representatives of various sciences. Here the main attention is being directed to the optimum means of the organization of brigades made up of pieceworkers and to the economic and organizational aspects of their activity. At the same time the question of the practical realization of the advantages of the brigade method has been poorly studied. Meanwhile the creation of multiple-skill brigades pursues the obtaining of a comprehensive socioeconomic impact and is aimed at the maximum utilization of the most important achievements of science and technology, the increase of labor productivity, the saving of resources and the improvement of work quality and the development of the creative initiative of the masses.

The brigade form of the organization and stimulation of labor is also a qualitatively new stage of the development of the primary labor collective and implies the further improvement of socialist "collective-worker" social relations [1]. It is possible to distinguish the following advantages of the brigade method. First, the collective material interest in the results of labor increases considerably,

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collective and individual interests are combined more completely and harmoniously. Second, more favorable opportunities than before are created for the involvement of every worker in management, the personal responsibility for the state of affairs in the collective is increased, which contributes to the formation of the sense of being the master of the socialist enterprise. Third, the stability of the labor collectives increases, favorable conditions form for the combatting of violations of labor discipline and for the improvement of the entire system of the communist education of the members of the collective. Finally, the role of the labor collective as not only a production, but also a social unit of society is enhanced, new opportunities appear for the performance of all its functions, which are specified by the USSR Constitution.

The adoption of the contract method faces enterprises with a number of complicated problems. It is possible to say that the multiple-skill brigade is a kind of magnifying glass, owing to which both the positive aspects and the shortcomings, the oversights in the organization of production and in the system of the stimulation of labor are more prominently visible. Practical experience attests that the creation of multiple-skill brigades in itself still does not guarantee the increase of the labor and social activeness of working people, the tightening up of discipline and the increase of labor productivity and the quality of the output being produced. The use of the advantages of the new method depends on the level of the organizational and educational work at the enterprise. In particular, the study at the Uralelektrotyazhmash Association, which was conducted in 1981 by the Chair of the Theory of Scientific Communist and Sociology of the Ural State University, as well as the Division of Sociological Studies of the association, showed this.¹

When introducing multiple-skill cost accounting brigades it is necessary to take into account the specific sectorial nature of production. For example, in metallurgy the very technology of production always required the brigade attendance of the blast furnace, the open-hearth furnaces and the rolling mills. Here, consequently, the question consists not in creating brigades anew, but in changing them over to a single contract with the use of the coefficient of labor participation and in the adoption of new forms of the management of the collective (councils of brigades, councils of brigade leaders and so on). At machine building enterprises the main task is to specify clearly for each group of occupations (machine operators, adjusters, mechanic-repairmen and so on) the content of the final product. Accordingly, in the shops with small-series production it is necessary to unite the pieceworkers into brigades. Wherever brigades already exist (for example, in

1. Not by chance did the association--one of the largest in the Urals--become the object of study. At present at the main enterprise 54.6 percent of all the workers work in multiple-skill brigades, while by the end of the five-year plan their proportion will increase to 70 percent. More than 20 percent of the brigades of the association were covered by the study. In particular, a survey of the workers of 50 multiple-skill brigades, who were singled out on the basis of a quota sample, was conducted. For comparison a similar number of pieceworkers were studied in accordance with the same questionnaire. A sociometric study of the sociopsychological climate was made in 16 brigades. Moreover, 48 brigade leaders and 78 foremen, chiefs of sections, economists and executives of party and public organizations took part in an expert survey. Materials and documents of the plant administration, party and other public organizations and the local press were also used.

assembling), a changeover must be made to work on a single order. In machine building, thus, the introduction of the brigade form of the organization of labor is an especially complicated matter.

Considerable preliminary work on the introduction of the brigade form of labor was performed at the association. Therefore, it is not by chance that the majority of the surveyed workers, brigade leaders, foremen and engineering and technical personnel perceived favorably the creation of multiple-skill brigades (see Table 1). A negative attitude is characteristic mainly of the workers who were not covered by the brigade contract (the proportion of those dissatisfied ranges in different shops from 25.2 percent to 56.2 percent). The main reason for lack of confidence in the innovation is the fear of collective responsibility and leveling in wages. The number of "hesitant" people is negligible, especially where explanatory work on the advantages of the brigade method has been performed. The bulk of them fall to the subdivisions, in which the multiple-skill brigades are still at the stage of formation. The workers regard as the most important advantage of the brigade organization of labor the formation of a united labor collective (45.8 percent of those surveyed indicated this), 11.8 percent noted that when using the brigade method the work becomes more diversified, 11.4 percent are first of all attracted by the increase of wages. In the opinion of the brigade leaders, the creation of multiple-skill brigades first of all ensures an increase of labor productivity and a regularity of work (56.3 percent). The foremen and engineering and technical personnel of the shops (65.4 percent) also put the mentioned factor in first place.

Table 1

Attitude of the Respondents to the Organization of Multiple-Skill
Brigades at the Enterprise, Percent

Categories of workers	Positive	Negative	Find it difficult to give a definite answer
Members of multiple-skill brigades. .	80.5	10.3	9.2
People working on individual orders .	40.8	42.1	17.1
Brigade leaders	100.0	--	--
Foremen	88.5	--	11.5
Engineering and technical personnel .	91.0	1.3	7.7

The following data attest to the positive effect of the introduction of the brigade contract: the formed multiple-skill brigades on the average for the association provide an increase in labor productivity of 20-25 percent. The changeover to the brigade method also contributed to the strengthening of collective relations. In the multiple-skill brigades, for example, the turnover of personnel decreased substantially. In a year two-fifths as many people were discharged from these collectives than from the sections in which pieceworkers work. As a whole, as the study showed, work in accordance with the brigade method strengthens among workers the sense of responsibility and interest in the affairs of the collective. This is also understandable: the efficient performance by each person of his production duties is a necessary condition of the normal functioning of the multiple-skill brigade. Not by chance is the pressure on the part of the workers themselves on loafers and absentees infinitely stronger here than among pieceworkers who work individually. Only 3 percent of the members of the multiple-skill brigades do not attach serious

importance to cases of the violation of labor discipline. Among pieceworkers 12 percent were like this. Respectively 74.7 and 59.1 percent of those surveyed try personally to influence the violator; 27.8 percent of the respondents in the multiple-skill brigades submit the question of the violations noticed by them to the workers' meeting.

The data concerning the opinion of the members of multiple-skill brigades and the pieceworkers, who work individually, with respect to the methods of influencing the violators of discipline are of interest in this connection (see Table 2). The people working on individual orders assign the main role to financial disciplinary measures. The members of the brigades direct their attention to the strength of the collective itself. It must be said that such an approach justifies itself: since the creation of the multiple-skill brigades the number of violations of discipline among the workers has decreased to one-third to one-half. In 30 percent of the multiple-skill brigades there are never unauthorized absences from work. Work on a single order requires a high level of collectivistic consciousness, constant mutual assistance in work and the concern of each person about the occupational advancement of his comrades. According to the obtained data, 73.5 percent of the surveyed members of the brigades are completely satisfied both with the relations which have formed among the workers themselves and with the relations between the workers and the brigade leaders. In the opinion of 84.1 percent of the respondents, with the creation of the brigades the collectivistic relations in the primary collective became stronger.

Table 2

Opinions of the Respondents on the Most Effective Methods
of Influencing Violators of Discipline, Percent

Measures of influence	Members of multiple-skill brigades	Pieceworkers
Summary punishments.	8.5	15.9
Discussion at the workers' meeting	38.3	31.9
Deprivation of the bonus	27.7	49.3
Personal talk.	25.5	2.9

The introduction of the brigade method expedites the occupational adaptation of young people. In all 85.7 percent of the members of the brigades up to the age of 20 noted this. In the multiple-skill brigades the period of the mastering of occupations is shortened to one-half to two-thirds as compared with the collectives, the members of which work on individual orders. Why? Tutorship acts as an important factor here. Thus, 53.6 percent of the experienced workers of the brigades give assistance to young workers not only at their request, but also on their own initiative. Among pieceworkers only 34.3 percent give such assistance. In all 43 percent of the brigade leaders of multiple-skill brigades believe: collective tutorship exists in the collectives managed by them. The advantage of such a form consists, first, in the mastering by the beginner of the know-how of many experienced workers and, second, in the collective responsibility of the latter for the young workers.

The increased orientation toward mutual assistance is governed first of all by the very system of the organization of labor in brigades, which presumes the direct dependence of the results of work and the level of wages on the extent to which each worker has mastered his own and a related occupation and on how developed the interchangeability of the members of the brigade is. In this case the organizational rearrangement should, of course, be supplemented by the corresponding explanatory and educational work on the part of the brigade leader, the council of the brigade and the councils of brigade leaders. However, many managers of the subdivisions and engineering and technical personnel to this day believe that their efforts should be focused first of all on the solution of economic and organizational problems. Only 30.8 percent indicated the need for the improvement of the educational and explanatory work with the members of the multiple-skill brigades. Meanwhile, according to the data of the study 29.9 percent of the surveyed workers received information on the brigade contract from newspapers, radio and television broadcasts; 21.2 percent--from the chief of the shop; 18.2 percent--from the chief of the section or the foreman; 18.0 percent--from fellow workers and only 3.2 percent--from the representatives of public organizations. Everything seems to indicate that the need has arisen for the development of a special method of organizing educational work in the multiple-skill brigades.

The brigade form of the organization and stimulation of labor also creates new opportunities for the involvement of each worker in the management of the affairs of the collective. In particular, new organs of the self-management of labor collectives have appeared--the councils of brigades and the councils of brigade leaders, which solve the day-to-day problems of the management of the primary labor collectives. Such important production questions as the distribution of the production assignments among the members of the brigade, the organization of the training of young workers and the determination of the degree of participation of each member of the brigade in the fulfillment of the common assignment belong to the competence of the council of the brigade. According to the data of the study, 66.7 percent of the workers of the association, who belong to brigades, took part in the discussion of questions of the efficient organization of labor; 70.6 percent--in the solution of problems of the tightening up of labor discipline; 63.7 percent--in the discussion of means of assisting young workers; 57.2 percent--in the distribution of wages and bonuses. About 75 percent of the workers are satisfied with the degree of their participation in the solution of the problems facing the collective.

At the same time the interviews with workers and brigade leaders showed: frequently the participation of workers in management is carried out in accordance with previously formed patterns and reduces, for example, only to participation in the brigade meeting. The experience of a number of enterprises shows that the brigade can also assume, in addition to the performance of the above-mentioned functions, the establishment of the order of priority of vacations, the determination of the measure of punishment for violators of discipline, the introduction of advanced methods of labor and so on [2].

In half of the primary collectives surveyed by us the council of the brigade either is entirely absent or operates purely formally. In part this is explained by the existence at the association of a considerable number of brigades, in which five to six people work, the council is usually set up in collectives which have not less than 10 people [3]. As a whole only 38.7 percent of the respondents, who work in collectives in which such organs exist, are satisfied with the activity of the

councils of brigades. A model statute on the councils of multiple-skill brigades, the systematic training and the exchange of the experience of brigade leaders are becoming a vital necessity.

The multiple-skill brigades for the present are still in the initial period of their development. However, now their advantages are already appearing quite vividly. In the opinion of brigade leaders, the chiefs of shops and sections, engineering and technical personnel and the executives of shop party and public organizations, the brigade method provides the following advantages (the respondent could mark several items): labor productivity increases sharply (61.2 percent); the number of violations of discipline decreased (52.1 percent); the losses of working time were reduced (44.8 percent); collectivistic relations were strengthened (24.8 percent); the moral and psychological climate improved (21.5 percent). The more rapid increase of the skills of the workers, the more efficient use of equipment, the decrease of the turnover of personnel and the development of workers' self-management were also indicated.

The introduction of the brigade contract imperiously requires the reorganization of the work of a number of units of the economic mechanism. But, unfortunately, not all economic managers are displaying the aspiration to provide the brigade with the necessary conditions for work and to assume their own share of the responsibility. Both the shortcomings in the organization of production and the conservatism of thinking have an effect. All this undermines the very essence of the brigade method--its cost accounting basis. The mentioned shortcomings have also not been completely overcome at the association being studied. As the data of the survey showed, among the members of the brigades the demands on all the aspects of the economic management activity of the enterprise are considerably higher than among the pieceworkers. At the same time their dissatisfaction with the corresponding aspects of the production situation is also greater (see Table 3). In many ways this stems from the shortcomings in the organization of the multiple-skill brigades themselves. Often earnest technological preparation does not precede the changeover to work on a single order, or technological changes are made when the brigade has already been set up and is working. As a result at first the labor productivity and, consequently, the wages decrease. The latter, of course, evokes among the workers a lack of confidence in the new method.

Table 3

Attitude of the Workers Toward Various Aspects of the Production Situation,
Percent of Those Surveyed

Not satisfied with	Members of brigades	Pieceworkers
Regularity of labor.	31.4	14.5
Working conditions	24.8	19.9
Organization of labor.	32.8	14.7
Condition of equipment	42.4	29.8
Prospects of occupational advancement.	18.3	14.5
Planning of operations	24.9	15.1

The frequent idle times due to irregularities in material and technical supply are the main shortcoming in the organization of the work of the multiple-skill

brigades. In all 22.4 percent of the members of brigades, 70 percent of the foremen, 57.5 percent of the engineering and technical personnel of shops and 29.2 percent of the brigade leaders indicated this. The brigade method requires the sharp increase of the level of planning and material supply and the improvement of the use of equipment. For in case of an interruption in the supply of raw materials, materials and tools it is easier for the foreman to transfer the pieceworker to another job than the entire brigade. So far, however, a portion of the engineering and technical personnel and managers of shops and divisions regard the brigade contract as a temporary "campaign," and not as a qualitatively new stage of the development of economic operations and management at the enterprise. Meanwhile the further development of the brigade method depends first of all on the improvement of the entire economic mechanism of the enterprise.

The extensive dissemination of the brigade contract is raising especially urgently the question of the optimum combination of the collective and personal material interest of workers. Work on a single order in no case should lead to the leveling or the groundless increase of the wages of individual people. This is at variance with the very idea of the new method. According to the data of our study, 23.1 percent of the members of brigades believe that their labor contribution is evaluated unfairly (among those working on individual orders 36 percent of those surveyed expressed such an opinion). In many ways the lack of scientifically sound methods of calculating the coefficient of labor participation is the cause of subjectivism.

The increase of the unity of the collective, the improvement of the moral and psychological climate and the strengthening of comradely mutual assistance among the members of the brigade, it would seem, create favorable opportunities for the full-fledged contact of the workers outside production. However, the study did not reveal any substantial differences between the forms of interpersonal contact during free time of the members of brigades and pieceworkers. The foremen, brigade leaders and workers of nearly all the multiple-skill brigades of the association noted: in fact no attention is being devoted to this important area of educational work, as they say "it is beyond them." At the same time wisely organized joint recreation could become an important factor of the increase of labor productivity, the efficiency and quality of work.

We have dwelt only on a few initial results of the changeover to the new method of the organization and stimulation of labor of a large production association. It seems that the advantages and problems of multiple-skill brigades, which were identified in the process of the study, are also characteristic to one extent or another of other enterprises.

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TRAINING AND ACTIVITY OF ENGINEERS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 91-98

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Samuil Aronovich Kugel', professor of the Chair of Philosophy of the Leningrad Institute of Finance Economics imeni N. A. Voznesenskiy: "The Skills and Real Activity of the Engineer"]

[Text] The acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the intensification of the entire national economy and the maximum utilization of the technical, economic and scientific potential of our country among other measures presume the increase of the efficiency of the labor of engineering and technical personnel. Today society is also making great demands on the personal qualities of the specialist. It expects from the engineer civic activeness and a responsible attitude toward his duties. All this is posing new tasks for the system of the training of engineers [4; 5]. The means of accomplishing them are specified in the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On the Further Development of the Higher School and the Increase of the Quality of the Training of Specialists" [3].

Both the theoretical and the practical aspects of the problem will be examined in this article. Here, on the basis of the inseparable unity of the processes of the training, the improvement of the skills and the practical scientific activity of engineers, we strove not so much for the thorough elaboration of a separate, be it even a very important question as for the identification of the most urgent problems.

During the past 30 years the increase of the number of engineering personnel has occurred considerably more rapidly than the increase of any other socio-occupational group. From 1950 to 1980 the number of engineers increased from 400,000 to 4.9 million, that is, by more than 12-fold, while the proportion of specialists with a higher education increased by 8.2-fold and the total number of workers and employees increased by 2.8-fold. A rapid increase of the number of engineers was characteristic of the 1970's, when our economy embarked on the path of primarily

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intensive development. Thus, from 1975 to 1980 the number of engineers increased by 33.4 percent. In 1980 269 higher technical educational institutions instructed engineers in 236 specialties and trained 343,000 engineers--43.5 percent of the graduates of USSR higher educational institutions. In 1980 engineers made up 40.7 percent of the specialists with a higher education (See Table 1). The growth rate of the number of engineering personnel for a long time led the growth rate of the number of technicians and auxiliary personnel, which was accompanied by the broadening of the sphere of the use of the labor of engineers and led to a certain decrease of the quality of the training of specialists. Although engineering occupations have become the most massive specialties of highly skilled mental labor, such an application of it not for the immediate purpose is economically and socially unjustified.

Table 1

Dynamics of the Number of Certified Engineers in the Structure of Those Employed in the USSR National Economy*

	1950	1960	1970	1980
Number of engineers, thousands.	400.2	1135.0	2486.5	4914.2
Number of engineers per 1,000 workers and employees	9.9	18.3	27.5	43.7
Proportion of engineers among specialists with a higher education, percent.	27.7	32.0	36.2	40.7
Ratio of engineers and technicians.	1:2.1	1:1.7	1:1.8	1:1.6
Graduating class of engineers from higher educational institutions, thousands	37.4	120.4	257.4	329.3

* Source: [5, p 126; 6].

Engineering functions are diverse and "frequently lend themselves with difficulty to recording" [7]. In the narrow sense of the word engineering activity is a special type of highly skilled mental labor, which is aimed at the practical use of the laws of sciences (first of all the natural and technical sciences) and engineering and technical principles for the purpose of the development and introduction of new machines and devices, materials and technological processes and operations, as well as at the service of current production by means of engineering methods and means with allowance made for the social consequences of scientific and technical innovations [8]. Engineering activity is socioeconomically determined. Therefore its orientation and nature under socialism and capitalism are different. In mature socialist society engineering labor is in its essence creative technical activity on the development of scientific and technical knowledge, its implementation in practice and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in the name of the solution of humane social problems.

In the broad sense of the word engineering activity includes (to one extent or another) not only engineering functions as such, but also managerial and ideological educational functions. Moreover, in practice a specialist frequently works on tasks which do not conform to his skills. The actual structure of the activity of an engineer can be optimal, more or less rational and irrational. This is governed by the ratio in its content of different types of operations. One must also take

into account the fact that the formal (according to the manning table) structure of official duties does not always correspond to the real structure of labor operations and the title "engineering" is frequently assigned to positions which presume the performance of technical, but not engineering, functions.

On the one hand, the differentiation of functions and, on the other, greater and greater integration with other types of activity, especially scientific labor, are characteristic of modern engineering labor. The very contingent of engineers can be classified according to different criteria: according to the subject attribute (mechanical engineer, power engineer and so forth), according to the sphere of the application of labor (the production and nonproduction spheres, the scientific and technical preparation of production), according to the functional attribute (process engineer, designer, economics engineer, research engineer, an engineer engaging primarily in managerial activity), according to the level of skills (certified engineer, an engineer who does not have a higher specialized education, an engineer-candidate of sciences, an engineer-doctor of sciences). The differences between the groups come to light in the goals and structure of the activity and in its components. Here for successful work it is first of all necessary for the vocational training of the specialist and the organizational structure of the enterprise to correspond to the nature of the activity of the engineer. The system of such ties includes not only functional production elements, but also the relations which form under the influence of such factors as the nature and conditions of labor, occupational prestige and so forth. In the practice of management the latter circumstance, however, is rarely taken into account.

The problems of the formation of the engineer staff frequently reduces to exclusively pedagogical aspects--the methods of instruction, the ratio of the general scientific, general engineering and special disciplines and so forth. Of course, the pedagogical aspect is very significant. However, it does not exhaust the essence of the matter, and under present conditions, perhaps, is also not the most important aspect. The questions of the vocational guidance and life plans of young people, their attitude toward education, the criteria of the selection for higher educational institutions and the effectiveness of the educational and training process are acquiring greater and greater importance.

Traditionally the level of knowledge of engineers in philosophical, political, general scientific, general engineering and special disciplines is determined by the grade on examinations or in the form of the grade for the degree work, course work and so forth. In addition to formalized indicators the training of a specialist is evaluated by the instructor during the educational process. The distinguished forms and methods of evaluation suffer from two essential shortcomings. First, they include only to a negligible extent means of the practical testing of knowledge. Second, inasmuch as the instructor, and in the broader sense the higher educational institution, acts as the subject of the evaluation, the description of the specialist is not always objective. The involvement of representatives of industry in the state examinations and the performance by students of practical work in production improve the situation somewhat, but do not change it fundamentally. The task of supplementing the internal forms of evaluation of higher educational institutions with external forms, which thoroughly take into account the real activity of young engineers, is becoming more and more urgent. Such control was always carried out spontaneously. It is necessary, consequently, to generalize the available experience and to unite it organizationally with the system of evaluations of

higher educational institutions. It is possible to obtain important meaningful prerequisites for this on the basis of the skills descriptions of specialists, which are now being elaborated--a system of qualities which the young specialist should have. It is a question of a fundamentally new system of the evaluation of the level of training of engineers on the basis of the analysis of the actual activity. The degree of readiness of the specialist for creatively active technical, economic, organizational, ideological and political work will act as the central, key principle. In recent years such an approach has received greater and greater recognition and practical implementation.

The scientific study of the activity of graduates, which was begun in the 1960's at the Leningrad Institute of the Textile and Light Industry, was then conducted at the Moscow Textile Institute, the Leningrad Institute of Finance Economics and a number of other higher educational institutions of the country. Nevertheless the new method is still being introduced slowly. The main reason is its inadequate methodological substantiation and organizational support. For example, the evaluation is usually made on the basis of adaptational indicators (the period of getting to know the official duties and so forth) and only as applied to the problem of the performance by the young specialist of some functions. In our opinion, it is necessary to pose the question more broadly: an engineering occupation is an occupation for one's entire life and the quality of training should be evaluated on the level of the formation of the aptitude for long-term--35-40 years--activity. It is difficult, certainly, to accomplish this task, since with time the socio-occupational position of the engineer changes, scientific and technical knowledge, the leading scientific trends and so on are updated. The main means here is the maintenance of the optimum balance between practical (special) and basic knowledge, the priority of the basic over the narrowly specialized [9]. This, of course, will lengthen somewhat the adaptation period, since the importance of basic knowledge increases with the complication of the functions, that is, usually after the first year of work.

Without specially examining the directions of the improvement of the syllabuses and methods of instruction, particularly the means of creating a mechanism of the constant adjustment and improvement of the educational and training processes, we would like to emphasize the following: the study of the activity of the graduates of higher educational institutions should become one of its main elements. According to the materials of a written questionnaire of educators of seven technical higher educational institutions of Leningrad (1981) at present only 21.2 percent are receiving data on their former students from special studies, 7.2 percent--as a result of systematic meetings with the managerial personnel of enterprises, 41.1 percent--from occasional meetings. Approximately one in five or six stated that they do not have information on graduates (see Table 2).¹ Consequently, the relations of instructors with graduates are spontaneous and incomplete, especially in the general scientific chairs. To a certain extent this also concerns the higher technical educational institutions within the framework of plants, which are linked organizationally with industrial enterprises.

Another important problem is the correlation of the level of training of the specialist and the level of production. Traditionally it is believed that education

1. Similar data were obtained at the higher educational institutions of six other cities of the country.

"comes" after production. This question, however, must be settled with allowance made for the trends of the development of science. This is the theme of a special article. Let us merely note: under present conditions the process of the integration of science, education and production is intensifying, which requires, in our opinion, that production "lead" not only science, but also education. Of course, the basic motive forces of the development of both education and science lie in the needs of social production, but in the very mechanism of the realization of this objective law science usually "comes" in front of practical production and educational work [10].

Table 2

Breakdown of the Responses of Professors and Instructors to the Question "From What Sources Do You Learn About the Labor Activity of the Graduates of Your Higher Educational Institution?", Percent*

(1) Преподаватели кафедры	Из э. н. о. и с. н. о. с выпускни- ми (2)	Из спе- циальных исследо- ваний (3)	Из бесед с ру- ководителями работниками предприятий (4)	Из системати- ческих встреч с выпускни- ками (5)	Из пер- сональных встреч с выпускни- ками (6)	Не имеют све- дений о том или других (7)
(8) Общонаучных	40,7	9,9	15,9	3,3	—	41,8
(9) Общенижене- рных	43,8	22,5	31,3	5,0	3,1	14,4
(10) Специальных	40,6	26,4	36,1	10,0	5,0	8,2
(11) В среднем по выборке	41,1	21,2	29,8	7,2	3,3	17,9

Key:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Instructors of chairs | 6. From correspondence with graduates |
| 2. From occasional meetings with graduates | 7. Do not have information on graduates |
| 3. From special studies | 8. General scientific |
| 4. From discussions with managers, workers of enterprises | 9. General engineering |
| 5. From systematic meetings with graduates | 10. Special |
| | 11. On the average for the sample |

*The respondent could mark several items.

Summarizing what has been said, let us emphasize: the evaluation of the quality of the training of engineers should be based on the analysis of their real employment--according to the spheres, sectors, the functions actually being performed and the trends of the change of the latter with allowance made for the appearance of new specialties.

When analyzing the structure of the activity of engineers one should differentiate the problems which stem from: a) the latest trends of the development of scientific and technical progress, the specialization and division within engineering labor; b) the correlation of the social factors of engineering activity, the technical and economic content of this type of labor and the conditions of its performance, stimulation and socioeconomic evaluation. The questions connected with the change of the

proportion of engineers in the structure of the industrial personnel engaged directly in production (and especially in the nonproduction sphere) and with the increase of the differentiation of engineers into researchers, designers, technologists, managers of structural subdivisions and so on belong to the first group. Of course, the traditional engineering roles--the chief of the shop, the process engineer and so forth--retain their importance; moreover, under the conditions of the speeding up of the time of the introduction of scientific achievements in practice it is even increasing. Nevertheless the majority of engineers are now concentrated in the sphere of the scientific and technical preparation of production. However, in any case special training, to the need for which the materials of numerous sociological surveys of both the educators of higher educational institutions and production workers attest, is necessary for the effective performance of each of the functions listed above. For the present only a negligible portion of the higher educational institutions of the country are carrying it out.

The second group of problems concerns the increase of the efficiency of engineering labor regardless of the specialization of the engineer. Owing to the shortage of auxiliary personnel, the performance of outside work and some imperfection of the established system of the evaluation of engineering activity (it is a question of the level of payment for labor and the forms of the stimulation of its efficiency) specialists use for creative labor only a relatively small portion of the working time [11]. According to the sociological studies conducted in Leningrad in 1981, the managerial personnel of production and scientific research subdivisions named a "problem number one" in the activity of young engineers diversion for outside matters which do not require engineering skill.

Ovviously, to increase the number of technicians and auxiliary personnel one should first of all increase their wages, since at present a significant portion of the technicians are attempting to occupy (frequently without production necessity) the higher paid positions of workers. It is possible to achieve the increased graduation of technicians on the basis of higher technical educational institutions, having organized the step-by-step training of specialists, a kind of "compulsory screening." Incidentally, more than 70 percent of the surveyed young engineers would also like to earn more and supported the increase of the differentiation of the payment for labor subject to its intensity and quality.

The basis of the increase of the status and prestige of engineering labor is the increase of the responsibility of enterprises for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the introduction of its results. This will contribute to the increase of the demands on the higher school and each specialist and will help to promote the most capable workers more rapidly and to screen out bad workers, since it is possible to educate genuine creators of new equipment and technology only on the basis of the solution of important scientific and technical problems. Among the necessary steps in this direction there seem especially important to us: the radical improvement of the organizational conditions of the labor of engineering and technical personnel, the increase of the differences in pay subject to the labor contribution and the increase of the quality of training of specialists--both at the institute and after graduating from an institute.

In this connection the question of the scale of the training of engineers arises. Apparently, the existing rate is necessary primarily for the newest sectors, for new scientific and technical trends and for the overcoming of the disproportions in

the structure of engineering personnel. Thus, more than 70 percent of the surveyed managerial personnel of a group of enterprises of one of the newest sectors of industry indicated the need to increase the number of design engineers, 72 percent--production organizers. Data exist concerning the fact that a number of leading sectors of the national economy--metallurgy, mining, the oil drilling industry--are being inadequately reinforced with young engineers [12]. "With the development of the national economy the demand for personnel of one specialty or another also changes," it was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress. "And hence the system of planning of the training of personnel at higher educational institutions should also react sensitively to these changes" [2].

The decrease since the early 1970's of the competition for technical higher educational institutions also requires a new approach in the training of engineers. The number of secondary school graduates has begun to approximate the plan of admission. As a result the base of selection has narrowed considerably.

One should not, of course, oversimplify the problem, by limiting the causes of the decline of the prestige of technical higher educational institutions to the sphere of the organization of and payment for engineering labor. Sociopsychological factors also played an important role. In the 1950's the orientations toward creative labor, especially labor which yields a "tangible" material impact, dominated among the graduates of schools. Here it was believed that the specialty of an engineer guarantees relatively high wages and a relatively high social status. During the 1970's the situation changed: the equalization of socio-occupational groups with respect to such parameters as working conditions and the payment for labor, the sociocultural benefits afforded by the workplace and the possibility of choosing one's place of work contributed to the change of the structure of the motivations of labor activity. The sociological studies of the matriculants of technical higher educational institutions, which were conducted in the 1960's and early 1970's, showed that the individual does not have a universal and mandatory "single reason," but there is a certain hierarchical set of reasons, in which the aspiration to obtain a higher education holds the leading place, the interest in a specialty is in second place and so on. Moreover, a definite dependence was found between the type of technical educational institution and the number of secondary school graduates, who are rushing to this institute due to a great interest in the specialty. At the higher educational institutions, at which engineers for the newest fields of technology are being trained, the proportion of those enrolling "by vocation" is greater. Such a reason for enrolling in a higher educational institution as an interest in technology in general (regardless of the specialty) was investigated in studies of the middle and end of the 1970's. It turned out that it was more pronounced than the interest in a specific specialty; the latter is absent among a significant portion of the secondary school graduates. At the same time the reason: to obtain a higher education, has persistently dominated in the structure of motivation.

Another social aspect of a higher technical education--the socio-occupational orientations of the graduates of higher educational institutions--is also important. A significant number of the students graduating from an institute aspire to scientific activity. Moreover, not so much its creative nature as the more orderly and relatively rapid occupational advancement in the sphere of science, as compared with other areas of the application of engineering labor, attracts a portion of the young specialists. The proportion of graduates, who are oriented toward a job in

the sphere of physical production (especially in shops), is small. As a result, "outsiders," who do not have an aptitude for scientific activity and do not possess creative abilities, are getting into science, and a shortage of engineers is being felt in production.

When examining the factors of the training of engineers, one should also dwell on such a factor as the professional and personal qualities of the educators of higher educational institutions. "No control, no programs and so on," V. I. Lenin wrote, "are absolutely capable of changing that direction of studies, which is determined by the composition of lecturers" [1]. One of the important indicators, which characterize the scientific training of instructors, is their "publishing activity." According to the data of the mentioned study, 46 percent of the respondents in the past 3 years (1978-1980) had not published articles. Such activity is slightly greater than the average in the special chairs, but here, too, a certain portion of the instructors do not have publications. Meanwhile, in the estimation of those surveyed themselves, the opportunities of the workers of higher educational institutions for this, although less than for the scientists of academic institutes, are still considerable. As we see, the scientific potential of technical higher educational institutions is being used far from completely. One of the possible means of eliminating the formed situation is the integration of higher educational institutions with scientific research institutes.

The absolute majority of the surveyed educators, including those of the special chairs, have not worked directly in production, they also do not intend to transfer there in the future. Their basic intentions on this level are to remain in their chair. Such a desire is expressed especially frequently (up to 90 percent of the respondents) in the special chairs. Does not one of the reasons that young engineers are inadequately trained for production activity and, first of all, for work in shops, lie in this?

The problems in the training and use of engineers, especially young engineers, have accumulated over the years. It seems to us that a comprehensive program is needed for the cardinal solution of the ripe problems (and precisely such a solution is necessary). The holding of a representative all-union conference with the participation of the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, interested ministries and departments, the educators of higher educational institutions, economists, sociologists and lawyers would be an important step in its elaboration. The experience of the leading higher technical educational institutions within the framework of plants, at which the qualities of organizers and managers of production are now being more fruitfully cultivated among engineers, in this connection merits special investigation.

The system of the socio-occupational monitoring of the training and activity of engineers should become one of the most important levers of the solution of the examined problems. The tightening up of such monitoring will require the reform of many traditional views on the correlation of the stability and mobility of engineering personnel, the change of a number of components of the existing economic mechanism, the stepping up of the activity of scientific and technical societies, the broadening of their powers and a number of other measures. It would be advisable to introduce more extensively the principle of the compulsory screening out of: students—for the reluctance or inability to master an engineering occupation thoroughly, the educators of the higher technical school—for lagging behind in

scientific knowledge and practical experience, the managers of collectives--for the inability to create the conditions for the full-fledged use of the engineering potential. On the whole, it is necessary to continue the search for more and more effective forms of the implementation in the sphere of engineering labor of the Leninist principles of the selection, placement, education and promotion of personnel.

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EFFICIENCY OF THE LABOR OF ENGINEERS

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[Article by Gennadiy Viktorovich Kanygin, junior scientific associate of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Leningrad), and Candidate of Economic Sciences Anna L'vovna Merson, senior scientific associate of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Comprehensive Evaluation of the Efficiency of the Labor of Engineers"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in italics in source]

[Text] The socioeconomic efficiency of labor, in contrast to the economic efficiency, cannot be described by value indicators alone. The most adequate method of its evaluation is the comparison of the actual level of the corresponding indicators with the standard level. The socioeconomic efficiency of the labor of engineering and technical personnel is determined by their real contribution to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, as well as by the development of their own labor potential.

In 1976-1982 at the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences an experimental check of the possibility of an integral evaluation of the socioeconomic efficiency of the labor of the engineering and technical personnel of industrial enterprises was made on the basis of the data of a mass survey of the machine builders of Leningrad. The survey was conducted at seven enterprises which are typical of the sector.¹

1. The survey of 1976-1977 was conducted by the Sector of the Social Problems of Labor of the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences under the direction of O. I. Shkaratan and N. K. Serov. Questionnaires, as well as cards, which were drawn up for each respondent by his immediate supervisor, were used. The card included a description of the workplace with allowance made for the content and conditions of labor, as well as an evaluation of the efficiency of the production activity of the respondent. For a description of the questionnaire and the substantiation of its representativeness see [1].

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When studying the efficiency of labor and the social factors, which determine it, in our opinion, there are of particular importance: the fulfillment of the production assignments on time, the quality of work, labor discipline, the defense of one's own opinion in settling production questions, engagement in rationalization and the initiative of the worker. There six components were used when designing the integral indicator of the socioeconomic efficiency of labor. Their importance was studied on the basis of an array which consists of 1,160 questionnaires.

At the first stage of the construction of the index of the socioeconomic efficiency of the labor of engineering and technical personnel (ISEZ) all the initial characteristics were transformed so that the increase of the number of gradation would reflect the increase of the degree of intensity of the characteristic (for example, the extension of the independence of engineers, if what is meant is their independence in decision making).

A ranking for four levels was made for the characteristics "fulfillment of the assignments," "the quality of work," "labor discipline" and "the degree of initiative," a ranking for five levels--for the characteristic "rationalization," a ranking for six levels--for the characteristic "engineering and technical personnel's own opinion." This made it possible to reflect thoroughly enough the differentiation of the respondents.

One of the possible means of constructing a generalized indicator is heuristic modeling, which presumes the expression of the integral indicator in terms of its components in the form of the analytical function:

$$I = f(x_1 \dots x_n), \quad (1)$$

where I is the integral indicator; $x_1 \dots x_n$ are its components; f is the form of the function, which is specified by the researcher.

In applied studies function (1) can be expressed in the following manner:

$$I = \sum_{i=1}^n \alpha_i x_i, \quad (2)$$

$$I = \beta \prod_{i=1}^n x_i, \quad (3)$$

where $\beta, \alpha_1 \dots \alpha_n$ are coefficients which are set by the researcher. The curve for the case of two variables x_1 and x_2 , which shows the domain of the identical values of the resultant index, which was obtained in accordance with equation (2), is presented in Figure 1. These domains are straight lines, the angle of inclination of which depends on coefficients α_1 and α_2 . The curve for function (3) is similar (see Figure 2).

Function (2) and function (3) show that engineers, who have integral indicators of the socioeconomic efficiency of labor, which differ with respect to the components, but as a whole are identical, fall to a single class with respect to the values of the resultant index. Thus, for example, engineering and technical personnel, who have little initiative, but have a high evaluation of the quality of fulfillment of

production assignments, and engineering and technical personnel, who have much initiative, but fulfill the production assignments with a low quality, can have identical integral indicators. Here the different characteristics "are given equal rights." At the same time the engineering and technical personnel, who have diametrically opposed primary indicators of labor activity, are brought together in a single class with respect to the resultant index. When generalizing empirical information the possibility of evaluating engineering labor individually is lost, which decreases the practical value of this method of constructing the integral indicator. The method, which makes it possible to take comprehensively into account the differences in the production activeness of engineers and on this basis to form an idea about the efficiency of their labor, is promising. The integral indicator (the ISEE) is also a quantitative gauge of such a comprehensive comparison.

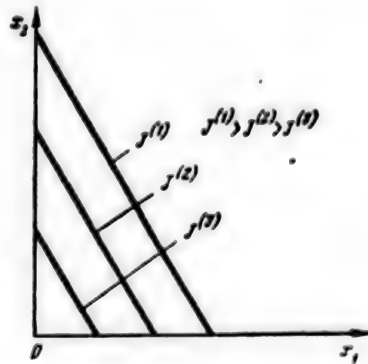


Figure 1

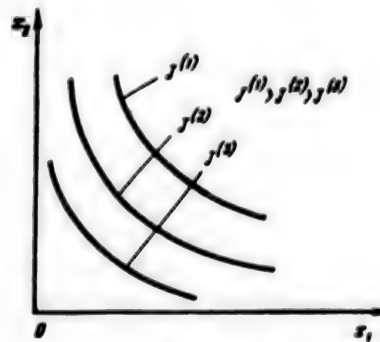


Figure 2

The model of metric invariant scaling, which is described in [2], is the basis for the method. With allowance made for the idea about the proximity of the objects in the space of the initial variables this method makes it possible to construct a scale with numerical values from 0 to 1, with a precise as possible preservation of the initial structure of the differences. With respect to our problem this means that the ISEE is constructed with allowance made for all the differences of the initial components of engineering activity.

The integral indicator, which has been constructed by means of metric invariant scaling, is a unidimensional continuum, which reflects the dissimilarity of the different types of labor, which is characterized by initiative, quality and so on. With respect to the method of formation this indicator is not a direct "complex analogy" of the indicator of labor productivity. This means that the ISEE is constructed without the introduction of the generalizing concept of the socioeconomic return of the production work of engineers, it is derived on the basis of the difference of engineering and technical personnel with respect to the aspects of their labor activity, which were distinguished by an experimental means.

The construction of the ISEE as a quantitative gauge of the nonuniformity of labor according to the diagram of metric invariant scaling does not presume an explicit analytical function of type (1). From the point of view of content this means that the method being used is not based on an a priori given socioeconomic correlation. On the other hand, the relationship of the initial variables and the integral indicator is given as the result of the consideration of all the differences in the

distinguished components of labor of the given group of engineering and technical personnel, that is, a posteriori. The analysis of the differentiation of engineering and technical personnel with respect to the distinguished characteristics of their labor activity makes it possible to introduce a certain correlation, which connects the aspects of labor with its socioeconomic efficiency. In this case the table of the correspondence between the integral indicator, which was calculated for each worker, and the individual variables characterizing it plays the role of an analytical correlation of type (1). The table can give both an object-by-object correspondence and the correspondence between the integral ISEE and the average values of the components of efficiency for the groups of workers, which fall to the named intervals. The degree of accuracy of this correspondence is determined within the given method by the researcher himself.

Let us examine the results of the use of this method when analyzing the efficiency of engineering labor. A unidimensional distribution with respect to the ISSE (see Figure 3) was constructed for the determination of the resolving power of the scale of the integral indicator. It has three pronounced peaks for the intervals (0.22; 0.48), (0.66; 0.78) and (0.92; 0.94). The graph clearly shows that the ISEE differentiates the sample well.

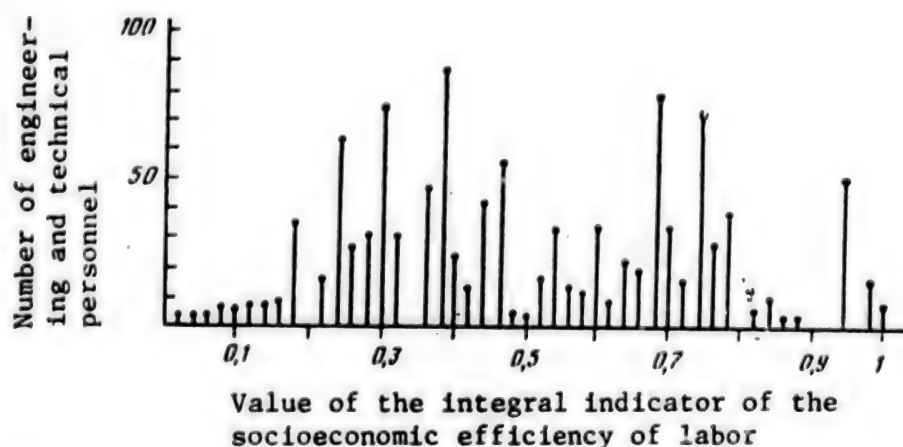


Figure 3. The Distribution of the Number of Engineering and Technical Personnel Subject to the Value of the Integral Indicator of the Socioeconomic Efficiency of Labor

The content interpretation of the constructed indicator can be obtained on the basis of the data of the table: the increase of the intensity of the distinguished aspects of the production activity of engineering and technical personnel corresponds to the increase of the ISEE of labor. Thus, the approach formulated by us is in keeping with the idea of the efficiency of labor activity, when high productivity is connected with the intensive manifestation of all the distinguished aspects of engineering labor.

Having identified the applied content of the ISEE, let us turn to some peculiarities of the relationship of the integral indicator with the components which form it.

Distribution of the Average Values of the Components According to the Scale
of the Integral Indicator of Socioeconomic Efficiency*

(b) Компоненты социально-экономической эффективности	(a) Интегральный показатель									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(c) 1. Занятие рационализаторством	1,69	1,64	1,48	1,52	1,64	1,48	1,64	2,64	3,06	1,97
(d) 2. Выполнение производственных заданий в срок	1,25	1,91	2,08	2,13	2,22	2,16	2,37	3,07	3,29	4,00
(e) 3. Качество работы	1,13	1,94	2,14	2,35	2,90	2,82	2,88	2,98	3,35	4,00
(f) 4. Трудовая дисциплина	2,12	2,49	2,62	2,90	2,88	2,96	2,92	2,88	3,12	4,00
(g) 5. Отстаивание собственного мнения в решении производственных вопросов	2,31	2,38	2,97	3,48	3,61	4,26	4,49	4,81	4,82	6,00
(h) 6. Инициативность в работе	1,00	1,29	1,86	2,05	2,06	2,41	2,77	2,94	3,12	4,00

Key:

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| a. Integral indicator | e. Quality of work |
| b. Components of socioeconomic efficiency | f. Labor discipline |
| c. Engagement in rationalization | g. Defense of one's own opinion in settling production questions |
| d. Fulfillment of production assignments on time | h. Initiative in work |

* The range of the change of the integral indicator is broken down into 10 intervals.

PARTICIPATION IN RATIONALIZATION. The change of this characteristic subject to the interval of division of the ISEE is not monotonic. A smaller value of the characteristic gravitates toward smaller numbers of the intervals, while a larger value gravitates toward larger numbers; the average value of the characteristic for the first intervals is 1.5-1.7, for the 8th interval--2.6, for the 9th--3.1, for the 10th--2.0.

THE DEGREE OF INITIATIVE. THE QUALITY OF WORK. THE FULFILLMENT OF ASSIGNMENTS. ONE'S OWN OPINION. In the case of an increase of the numbers of the intervals of division of the ISEE a monotonic increase of the average values of these characteristics is observed. Let us note that the engineering and technical personnel, who have the best indicators with respect to the enumerated characteristics, fall to the 10th interval.

LABOR DISCIPLINE. This characteristic has as a whole the same correlation with the ISEE as the characteristics of the preceding group. The difference consists in the fact that a domain of nonmonotonic change (intervals 4-8) is noted in the middle of the scale of the ISEE.

Metric invariant scaling makes it possible not only to construct an integral indicator of socioeconomic efficiency, but also to determine the trends of the change of the efficiency of labor by the study of the influence of the initial variables on the resultant indicator. In this case an analysis of the coefficients of the influence of the individual primary components on the index of the socioeconomic

efficiency of labor is made. The coefficients of influence are constructed on the basis of the partial derivatives of the functions of scaling with respect to the initial components [3, p 163]. In our study these coefficients are the mean value of the indicated partial derivatives for all the respondents who fell to the given interval of the ISEE.

Let us note that each respondent is characterized by his own set of coefficients of influence, which differ from the others. Such a set is a multivariate dynamic characteristic of the object, which in our study signifies the correlation of the influences of the individual components of the efficiency of labor on its resultant indicator. Thereby an opportunity is created to identify the characteristics of labor, which influence to the minimum and maximum extent the efficiency of engineering labor, and to determine the means of elaborating specific recommendations on the increase of the efficiency of the labor of engineering and technical personnel [4].

The group of engineers of industrial enterprises, which is being studied, is characterized by the coefficients of influence, which are presented graphically in Figure 4. From the curves it is evident that the influence of the individual components depends on the value of the integral indicator of socioeconomic efficiency. Here each of the coefficients demonstrates how rapidly the efficiency of the labor of engineering and technical personnel changes with a change of the value of the chosen component. The intervals of the scale characterize the engineering and technical personnel from the point of view of not only the socioeconomic efficiency of their labor, but also the trends of its change.

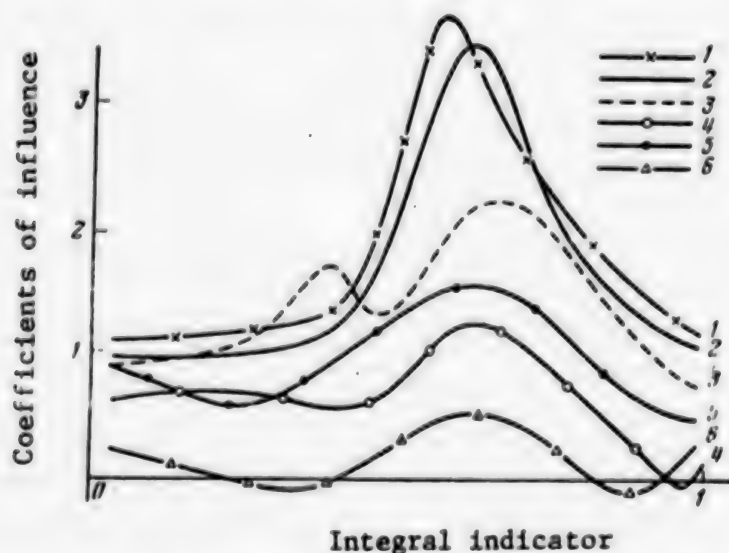


Figure 4. Coefficients of Influence of the Components of the Socioeconomic Efficiency of Labor: 1--initiative; 2--one's own opinion; 3--quality of work; 4--discipline; 5--fulfillment of assignments; 6--rationalization.

The groups of engineering and technical personnel, which have an integral indicator equal to 0.38 and 0.68, are the largest. A relatively low degree of influence of the components on the ISEE is characteristic of the former of them, while the

engineering and technical personnel with a higher index of efficiency are characterized by the demarcation of the initial variables with respect to the degree of influence into two subgroups: initiative, one's own opinion and the quality of work belong to the first subgroup, discipline, the fulfillment of assignments and rationalization belong to the second subgroup. Initiative and one's own opinion have a particular influence on the indicator of efficiency.

Among the types of socioeconomic efficiency being studied there are encountered those, for which with respect to the component "rationalization" a negative influence on the resultant index is observed, that is, in some groups of engineering and technical personnel the increase of their participation in rationalization work leads to a decrease of the efficiency of labor. This is explained by the fact that for individual engineers the intensification of the involvement in rationalization involves a decrease of their activeness in other aspects of labor activity, and the latter have a stronger effect on the overall labor contribution.

Let us examine how the influence of individual components depends on the value of the ISEE. In the graph (Figure 4) one should distinguish two characteristic things. First, for the average intervals the degree of influence of all the characteristics (with the exception of rationalization) increases sharply. This means that labor of average efficiency is susceptible to great change in the case of an increase of the intensity of individual components, while production activity of low and high efficiency in its manifestations is more stable. Owing to this it is possible to distinguish three groups of engineering and technical personnel not only with respect to the level of the efficiency of labor, but also with respect to the trends of change of this level. Second, in some cases an increase of activeness with respect to one of the components of labor activity can adversely affect the overall efficiency of labor. Thus, for example, in the groups of engineering and technical personnel with a low and high efficiency of participation in rationalization the ISEE of their production activity decreases.

In order to ascertain the applicability of the integral indicator of the socioeconomic efficiency of the labor of engineering and technical personnel to the evaluation of different sociodemographic and occupational skills groups of the engineering collective, we examined the values of this index with reference to the indicated groups. In practically all instances the differentiation of the value of the indices corresponded to the real differences in the value of the workers of the given group for the organization. Thus, for women (746 respondents) the index came to 0.46, for men (408 respondents)--0.56. This confirms the conclusion, which was drawn on the basis of a number of empirical studies, concerning the inefficiency of the feminization of such mass occupations as designers and process engineers, especially at machine building plants.

With an increase of the age of the respondent the value of the index increases, reaching a maximum at the interval of 45-49 years old (22-24 years old--0.38; 25-29 years old--0.40; 30-34 years old--0.42; 35-39 years old--0.48; 40-44 years old--0.52; 45-49 years old--0.57). The maximum gap (the absolute increase of the indicator) is observed during the transition from the interval of 30-34 years old to 35-39 years old. After the age of 50 the value of the index decreases: 50-54 years old--0.53, 55-59 years old--0.51, and the decrease occurs more slowly than the increase in the interval of 35-39 years old. The highest coefficient of 0.62 is noted for engineering and technical personnel over the age of 60

(44 respondents--3.7 percent of the total number of those surveyed). This is evidence of the fact that only those engineering and technical personnel of retirement age, who are of the greatest value for the organization, continue to work. The majority of engineering and technical personnel at the machine building enterprises of Leningrad are of productive age. The modal interval is 40-44 years old (25 percent), then follow the groups of 30-40 (16 percent) and 45-49 (12.5 percent). The proportion of engineering and technical personnel under the age of 25 is very negligible (1.4 percent), which is explained by the slowing of the increase of the number of engineering and technical personnel in recent years. In the future this may lead to an increase of the average age of the engineering corps.

The dynamics of the integral index subject to the length of service at the enterprise is of interest. With a length of service of up to 2 years it came to 0.41; 2-3 years--0.47; 10-20 years--0.52; more than 20 years--0.55. This attests to the much greater periods of the adaptation of engineering and technical personnel at the enterprise as compared with workers. Two peaks in the dynamics of the indicator are observed: with the achievement of a length of service of 2 and 10 years, in this interval the value of the indicator remains at approximately the same level. The data can serve as a basis for the differentiation of the remuneration of engineering and technical personnel in accordance with the results of the work during the year. Let us note that the majority of engineers have a considerable length of service at the enterprise: more than 10 years--51.7 percent, including more than 20 years--21.8 percent (up to 2 years--14.3 percent). The integral indicator of the socioeconomic efficiency of labor subject to the total length of service in the occupation ranges from 0.42 (with a length of service of up to 1 year) to 0.54 (with a length of service of more than 20 years). It is interesting that the value of the ISEE remains at approximately the same level (0.46-0.47) in the case of a change of the length of service over the interval from 2 to 5 years both in the occupation and at the given enterprise. A change in the value of the indicator occurs in the case of the increase of the length of service at the enterprise of more than 10 years, and of the length of service in the occupation of more than 5 years (an absolute increase of 0.05). As a whole the ISEE increases continuously in proportion to the increase of the length of service in the occupation.

The analysis of the relationship of the integral indicator of the efficiency of labor and the average monthly wage showed that the ISEE is quite high for the groups with a wage of up to 80 rubles² (0.52), in the group with an average monthly wage of 80-100 rubles it decreases sharply to 0.37. This coincides with the dynamics of the changes of the ISEE in the case of the increase of the length of service at the enterprise. The average ISEE comes to 0.45 for workers with a length of service of up to 1 year, but then decreases sharply to 0.36 in the next group. Apparently, young resourceful specialists, who, after coming to the enterprise, did not find the conditions for the realization of their abilities and aspirations, decrease their labor activeness. Adaptation occurs later for those of them, who did not leave the enterprise, which affects both the increase of their average monthly wage and the increase of the integral indicator of the socioeconomic efficiency of labor. In the group of those having an average monthly wage of 121-150 rubles the ISEE comes to 0.42; 151-175 rubles--0.50; 176-200 rubles--0.54; 201-250 rubles--0.62;

2. The study was conducted prior to the increase of the level of the minimum wage.

251-300 rubles--0.74; more than 300 rubles--0.85. The value of the absolute increase of the ISEE increases with an increase of the wage. Thus, with an increase of the average monthly wage from 100 to 200 rubles the absolute increase came to 0.08, while from 200 to 300 rubles--0.2. Let us note that for approximately half of the engineering and technical personnel (48.4 percent) the average monthly wage comes to 120-175 rubles. The index of efficiency for the respondents, who are satisfied with their wage, is 0.08 higher than for those who are dissatisfied (0.55 and 0.47 respectively).

Among the socioeconomic factors the value orientations reveal the greatest closeness of connection with the quality of work. The majority of engineering and technical personnel (66.7 percent) are oriented toward the content of work, they also have the highest ISEE (0.51). The proportion of those oriented toward wages comes to 17.8 percent, for these workers the value of the integral indicator is approximately the same--0.50. Let us note that for the people with an uncertain type of orientation is decreases to 0.43. Moreover, this group is significant (14.2 percent).

The satisfaction of engineering and technical personnel with various elements of the labor situation is an important sociopsychological factor. Thus, 52.2 percent of those surveyed are completely satisfied with the level of independence in work, this group of workers also has the highest ISEE--0.52; those, whom the level of independence in work for the most part does not satisfy, have an ISEE of 0.44. The ISEE is even lower for those, for whom this question is not urgent. A similar picture is also observed in the case of the analysis of the interrelationship of the integral indicator of the efficiency of labor with such a factor as the diversity of the work and the possibility of increasing one's skills. For those, who are satisfied with the diversity of work and the possibility of increasing their skills, the ISEE is respectively 0.52 and 0.51, for those who are dissatisfied (approximately one worker in six) the index of efficiency is respectively 0.09 and 0.05 less. Thus, the satisfaction of engineering and technical personnel with the various elements of the labor situation and the efficiency of their labor are interconnected. The systematic monitoring of the level of satisfaction is of great importance for the control of the integral socioeconomic efficiency of the labor of engineering and technical personnel.

The analysis which was made makes it possible to draw the conclusion about the efficiency of the integral indicator of the socioeconomic efficiency of the labor of engineering and technical personnel, which was constructed on the basis of the method of metric invariant scaling. The evaluation of this efficiency can be carried out on the basis of the data of a subsystem of the Automated Control System-Personnel, which is in operation at many enterprise, on the condition of some refinement and supplementation of the input documents. The final evaluations can be used during the certification of engineering and technical personnel, the analysis of the reserves of the increase of the efficiency of their labor, the tallying of the results of the competition and the elaboration of systems of material and moral stimulation.

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TRAINING OF ENGINEERS AT PLANT-HIGHER TECHNICAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 105-109

[Article by Kim Aleksandrovich Osipov, senior instructor of the plant-higher technical educational institution attached to the Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev and scientific secretary of the Scientific Methods Council of Plant-Higher Technical Educational Institutions attached to the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education: "The Economic and Social Efficiency of the Training of Engineers by Plant-Higher Technical Educational Institutions"]

[Text] Plant-higher technical educational institutions, the educational and training process at which differs from the traditional instruction of higher educational institutions, have been operating in our country for more than 20 years.¹ The main peculiarity of the system "the plant-the higher technical educational institution" consists in the fundamental combination of education with productive labor. The occupational formation and cultivation of the personality of the specialist take place here under the conditions of the close interconnection of the theoretical training of students with their production activity in a specialty at the base enterprise. The amount of theoretical knowledge received by the students is the same as at day higher educational institutions of a related, primarily technological specialization. At the same time a specific type of studies--production engineering training--is envisaged by the curricula of plant-higher technical educational institutions. It encompasses the labor activity of students in the specialty being acquired and their study directly at the enterprise of the sections of special disciplines in accordance with the syllabuses of the characteristic chairs. The transfers of the students of the higher technical educational institution among the workplaces and engineering and technical positions respectively in the lower and

1. The first plant-higher technical educational institutions, which were formed in the early 1930's, made an appreciable contribution to the matter of the training of skilled personnel of the production and technical intelligentsia from among the ranks of the working class. In the late 1950's this form of the training of specialists was revived under the new historical conditions. The plant-higher technical educational institutions were organized in conformity with the decree of the USSR Council of Ministers of 30 December 1959 [1] at the largest and most scientifically and technically advanced enterprises.

K. A. Osipov is publishing a work in our journal for the first time.

upper classes contributes to their occupational formation. The educational research theme, as a rule, is connected with questions of the improvement and development of production in the subdivisions in which the students work.

The Statute on Higher Educational Institutions of the USSR groups the instruction at the plant-higher technical educational institution with the training of specialists without leave from work. But in contrast to the evening and correspondence forms of ordinary higher educational institutions, the alternation of the educational process without leave and with leave from work is envisaged here. The schedule of this alternation at different plant-higher technical educational institutions is different and depends for the most part on the type and nature of production of the base enterprise. At present two plant-higher technical educational institutions are independent higher educational institutions subordinate to the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. They are the plant-higher technical educational institution attached to the Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev (more than 5,000 students) and the plant-higher technical educational institution attached to the Leningradskiy metallicheskiy zavod Production Association (more than 3,000 students). There are also several plant-higher technical educational institutions, which are branches of day institutes, with a smaller student body.

The close interconnection and mutual influence of both units of the system are achieved at the plant-higher technical educational institutions. The enterprises provide much assistance in the organization and improvement of production engineering training, the strengthening and development of the material and technical base and the organization of the daily life and relaxation of the students. On the other hand, the instructors, staff members and students of the plant-higher technical educational institutions take part in the fulfillment of the most important sections of the comprehensive plans of the economic and social development of the enterprises. It should be noted that the level of skills of the scientific teaching staff, as a rule, is very high: more than 50 percent of the instructors have academic degrees and titles. From 1960 to 1980 the plant-higher technical educational institution attached to the Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev trained more than 6,000 engineers for the largest production associations of the automotive industry--ZIL, Moskvich, GPZ-1 and KamAZ--while all the plant-higher technical educational institutions trained more than 20,000 engineers.

Such are the peculiarities of the plant-higher technical educational institutions and their place in the system of higher education of the USSR. Let us now examine in more detail, in what the economic and social efficiency of this form of the training of specialists finds expression.

In 1978-1980 the members of the scientific methods councils attached to the plant-higher technical educational institutions in Moscow, Leningrad and Rostov-na-Donu conducted studies, during which the placement and number of graduates of plant-higher technical educational institutions at the base enterprises were ascertained.² Moreover, the conformity of the theoretical and practical training of the respondents to the content of the engineering work being performed by them was analyzed by the method of expert appraisals. The managers of the subdivisions, in which

2. A study was conducted by the author at the base enterprises of the plant-higher technical educational institution attached to the Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev.

the graduates work, acted as the experts (750 questionnaires were received). The sample made up 10-20 percent of the general population, that is, of the total number of former students of the plant-higher technical educational institutions, who worked at the base enterprises during the period of the conducting of the study. The analysis of the obtained data (Table 1) shows: about 70 percent of the graduates have a good theoretical and practical training. In practical training they are considerably superior to the engineers of the same subdivisions, who graduated from other institutes. Undoubtedly, the fact that already in the process of training the students study the technology, economics and organization of modern production and acquire not only theoretical knowledge, but also the skills for the performance of engineering and technical operations, has an effect here. The better practical training to a considerable extent is responsible for the rapid occupational advancement of the specialists, who work successfully as production leaders, process engineers, designers, researchers and planners. Many are being promoted to managerial positions. Thus, for example, about 5 percent of those who received an education at the plant-higher technical educational institution attached to the Moscow Motor Vehicle Plant imeni I. A. Likhachev (of the total number of graduates working at the main enterprise) hold the positions of upper-level managers, while 20 percent hold the positions of middle-level managers. With respect to functional duties approximately 75 percent of the graduates of the plant-higher technical educational institution are directly connected with production. Similar data were obtained at all the other base enterprises.

Table 1

Level of Training of Graduates of Plant-Higher Technical Educational Institutions, percent

(1) Завод-вуз	(5) Уровень теоретической подготовки			(6) Уровень практической подготовки			Данные в сравнении с другими дневными вузами					
							(10) по уровню теоретической подготовки			(12) по уровню практической подготовки		
	(7) хорошая	(8) удовлетворительная	(9) недостаточная	(7) хорошая	(8) удовлетворительная	(9) недостаточная	(13) лучшая	(14) одинаковая	(15) худшая	(13) лучшая	(14) одинаковая	(15) худшая
(2) Московский	63,5	35,0	1,5	68,0	28,0	4,0	13,0	73,5	13,5	62,0	35,5	2,5
(3) Ленинградский	71,7	22,2	6,1	68,8	30,1	1,1	3,5	86,9	9,6	32,5	64,9	2,6
(4) Ростовский	70,0	26,0	4,0	70,0	25,0	5,0	27,5	46,6	26,9	75,0	19,0	6,0

Key:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Plant-higher technical educational institution | 9. Inadequate |
| 2. Moscow | 10. Data in comparison with other day higher educational institutions |
| 3. Leningrad | 11. In the level of theoretical training |
| 4. Rostov | 12. In the level of practical training |
| 5. Level of theoretical training | 13. Better |
| 6. Level of practical training | 14. The same |
| 7. Good | 15. Worse |
| 8. Satisfactory | |

Another important advantage of the form of higher education in question consists in the fact that the plant-higher technical educational institutions promote the attachment of young specialists to enterprises and the decrease of the turnover of engineering personnel. This is explained by a number of factors. First, during the years of study the students are filled with an understanding of their place in the labor collective and are thoroughly acquainted with modern production. The adaptation period, which, as is known, for many young specialists is accompanied by considerable difficulties, is practically absent here. Second, the base enterprises have extensive opportunities for meeting the diverse needs of young engineers (for meaningful labor, the steady increase of skills, the good organization of medical service, everyday life, recreation and so forth). And finally, third, the fact that young people are being sent for training to plant-higher technical educational institutions from those cities, in which the main and related enterprises of the sector and the plants of the association (branches), to which the graduates are then assigned, are located, plays an important role. Today, for example, about 80 percent of the graduates continue to work at the main enterprise of the ZIL Production Association, while 90 percent continue to work at plants of the association in other cities.

Our studies also confirmed that those who have graduated from plant-higher technical educational institutions "settle down" more easily and "are attached" more easily at enterprises than the people who came here after the day, evening and correspondence departments of higher educational institutions. When speaking about the economic efficiency of the training at plant-higher technical educational institutions, it is necessary to note another circumstance which determines the advantages of this form. We have in mind the fact that the students are not diverted for 5-6 years from the sphere of physical production, which is especially urgent in connection with the demographic situation in our country.

At the plant-higher technical educational institutions the national economic expenditures on the training of specialists with a higher education are reduced substantially as compared with day higher educational institutions. In the majority of cases the total length of the training periods without leave from work comes to about 3 years. During this time a surplus product, the value of which amounts to approximately two-thirds of the expenditures on training, is created by the production labor of the students at the base enterprises. If, moreover, we take into account the fact that the plant-higher technical educational institutions use the material and technical base of the enterprises, single-design, complicated and expensive technological equipment, as well as the equipment of the plant research laboratories, the results of the calculations made at the plant-higher technical educational institutions attached to the ZIL and Leningradskiy metallicheskiy zavod Associations become clear: the expenditures on the training of one engineer in the system "the plant-the higher technical educational institution" are approximately two-fifths as much as at ordinary higher educational institutions (about 2,500 rubles).

In addition to an economic impact, the system of higher education in question also provides an unquestionable social impact. Its most important feature is the participation in the formation of the communist world outlook of the students of not only the professors and instructors and the public organizations of the plant-higher technical educational institutions, but also the workers of the collectives of the base enterprises, who have rich revolutionary, fighting and labor

traditions. A communist attitude toward labor and socialist property, great consciousness and a sense of responsibility for the assigned matter are instilled in the students directly under the conditions of modern production. It is also important to note the influence of the students on the labor collective, particularly the young workers. For them the students of the higher technical educational institutions serve as a graphic example of rapid occupational growth and social advancement. Close everyday contact with the students is an effective stimulus of the increase of the educational level of young workers. It is also impossible not to note the fact that the plant-higher technical educational institutions create for young workers and secondary school graduates the best opportunities for obtaining a higher technical education. The material security of the students of higher technical educational institutions on the average is 2- to 2.5-fold greater than at day institutes. It is formed from wages and the stipend, the amount of which is 15 percent greater than the stipend received by the students of day departments. The crediting of wages and the stipend depends on the schedule of the alternation of training with leave and without leave from work, which has been adopted at the plant-higher technical educational institution.

It is possible to group with the important stimuli of training at plant-higher technical educational institutions the preferential crediting of students with a length of labor activity. It is envisaged by the Model Statute on the Plant-Higher Technical Educational Institution [1, p 67] that during the training periods with leave from work the students continue to remain workers of the base enterprise and this time is counted for them in the length of service. The students also enjoy other advantages. Thus, they annually receive paid vacation during the summer. The payments of stipends and vacation pay are made from the funds of the enterprises, which also bear the basic expenses connected with the residence of students in dormitories.

The approximation by the social composition of the students, who have come from different social groups, of the social composition of the population is an objective trend of the development of socialist society. But for the present, as M. N. Rutkevich notes, the "making of one's way" into the intelligentsia from different social groups is still not uniform. Young people, who have been raised in families, in which the parents have a high educational level, as a rule, reinforce the ranks of the intelligentsia more intensively [2]. Such a situation is justifiable, however, only for ordinary higher educational institutions. As to plant-higher technical educational institutions, here the picture is different. The analysis of the materials of the admissions commissions shows: workers and the children of workers on the average account for 60-65 percent of the total contingent of those who have enrolled. At a number of plant-higher technical educational institutions of outlying areas about 6-8 percent of the students come from the families of kolkhoz farmers. Thus the task of increasing in the composition of the student body the proportion of people from the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry is being successfully accomplished.

Further I would like to dwell on the question of the social transfer of the young people studying at plant-higher technical educational institutions, since this process also has here its own specific nature. It is possible to distinguish in it two stages. First the "merging" in the working class of the young people, who are of different social origin, takes place. The duration of this period, the importance of which for the cultivation of a communist world outlook of the students

and their occupational formation is hard to overestimate, is about 4 years. The essence of the second stage consists in the transition of the young people from the working class to the ranks of the intelligentsia. In the fourth and fifth years all the students are transferred to staff engineering and technical positions of the base enterprises. As practical experience attests, such social transfers have a favorable influence on the formation of the practical and political qualities of the future engineering and technical personnel and production managers.

Everything said above does not mean, of course, that in the work of the plant-higher technical educational institutions there are no unsolved problems. Individual base enterprises permit at times groundless deviations from the schedules of the transfer of students among the workplaces and engineering and technical positions. Some plant-higher technical educational institutions of outlying areas are still experiencing a shortage of scientific teaching personnel of the highest skills. The professors and instructors of the plant-higher technical educational institutions are, as a rule, overworked, which is connected, first, with the need to duplicate lessons, that is, to hold them in the morning and evening, and, second, with the labor-consuming production engineering training of students under the conditions of the base enterprises, which requires individual instruction. For the present it does not seem possible to eliminate these types of overworking, since the same estimated coefficient of the determination of the number of professors and instructors has been established for plant-higher technical educational institutions as for day higher educational institutions of a related specialization. The Model Statute on the Plant-Higher Technical Educational Institution, which was approved more than 20 years ago, is obsolete and needs revision.

At present the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education is studying the experience of all the plant-higher technical educational institutions of the country and is preparing measures on the improvement of their activity. The 20 years of experience of plant-higher technical educational institutions are unquestionably useful for the further development of higher technical education in our country.

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MOBILITY OF INDIGENOUS CENTRAL ASIAN POPULATION

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[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Dmitriy Isaakovich Zyuzin, senior scientific associate of the Scientific Research Institute of Labor of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems: "The Causes of the Low Mobility of the Indigenous Population of the Republics of Central Asia"]

[Text] The fulfillment of the most important national economic programs, particularly the rapid socioeconomic development of a number of regions, requires the territorial redistribution of manpower resources. The question was posed in precisely this way at the 26th CPSU Congress. "In Central Asia, in a number of regions of the Caucasus...there is a surplus of manpower, especially in the countryside. And hence it is necessary to involve the population of these places more actively in the development of new territories of the country" [1, p 54].

Indeed, today a high growth rate of the population, a low level of mobility of the indigenous inhabitants and the formation in this connection of relative surpluses of manpower are characteristic of Central Asia. The recommendations on the increase of the efficiency of the use of manpower resources in the region are usually based on the assumption of the impossibility of controlling the mobility of the indigenous population and reduce to conclusions about the need for additional capital investments, the development here of labor-consuming works and so on.

A sociological study¹ was conducted in the Turkmen and Uzbek SSR's for the purpose of identifying the causes of the low mobility of the indigenous population of Central Asia and determining the means of increasing its level. The study of three types of mobility: social, territorial and labor, was envisaged by the program. All three types of mobility are closely interconnected. However, the aspiration of a person for a change of his social status is the leading one; territorial and labor mobility act as channels or means of social mobility. Accordingly the factors, which determine the intensity and direction of each type of mobility, to a certain extent coincide. This creates additional difficulties for the presentation of the empirical data.

D. I. Zyuzin is a specialist in questions of manpower resources and is the author of the monograph "Kachestvo podgotovki spetsialistov kak sotsial'naya problema" [The Quality of the Training of Specialists as a Social Problem] (1978). He has published two articles in our journal (No 1, 1977; No 3, 1981).

Social Mobility. It was studied primarily on the level of the change by the individual of his social status when moving from one type of settlements to another. Such an approach stems from the need for the redistribution of the surpluses of manpower resources from the countryside to the city.

The republics of Central Asia have made considerable gains in economic and cultural development. In the Uzbek SSR from 1940 to 1980 the proportion of city dwellers increased from 24.5 to 41.3 percent, in the Kirghiz SSR--respectively from 21.7 to 38.7 percent, in the Tajik SSR--from 19.2 to 34.8 percent and in the Turkmen SSR--from 35.3 to 47.9 percent. In recent times the number of both urban and rural inhabitants has stabilized. First, the influx of population to the cities of Central Asia from other regions of the country has decreased. Second, the countryside has practically ceased to be a source of the enlargement of cities. As a whole nearly as many people are leaving villages for cities as are moving back. Therefore the existing negligible influx to the cities cannot meet the needs of industry, science, culture and services. In light of what has been said let us examine the aims of young people at living in different types of settlements.

On the one hand, the capitals and, on the other, urban-type settlements and workers' settlements enjoy the greatest prestige. Oblast centers and medium-sized and small cities, even industrially developed ones, are unpopular. Among rural young people about 65 percent of the students of the 8th and 10th grades intend to stay in the countryside to live, 15 percent would like to move to the capital and only 8 percent would like to move to oblast centers and other large and medium-sized cities. More than half of the young workers, kolkhozes farmers and employees of the countryside would not want to live in the city under any circumstances. Such responses were received from 40.0 percent of the respondents who live in urban-type settlements, 13.3 percent who live in small cities, 21.0 percent who live in oblast centers and other cities and 10.5 percent of the residents of the capital. The relatively low popularity of the oblast centers and other cities is combined with the high potential mobility of the residents of these types of settlements. Thus, 14.4 percent of those surveyed intend to leave the capitals, 11.0 percent--the villages, 14.1 percent--the urban-type settlements; at the same time 33.3 percent intend to leave the oblast centers, 26.6 percent--other cities.

Consequently, in the republics of Central Asia among the indigenous population the orientation not toward living in cities in general, but toward living in cities of the intermediate type is low; the prestige of the capitals is relatively high. The drawn conclusion is also confirmed by the data of state statistics. For example, in the Uzbek SSR the influx of population to Tashkent is occurring from various settlements; the limitation of its growth is an urgent necessity.

What has been said makes it possible to define more accurately the goal of the study. It consists in the ascertainment of the causes of the weak orientation of the population toward living in the oblast centers and other industrially developed cities and in the determination of the means of limiting the influx of young people to the capitals, of attaching them to other cities and of stimulating the outflow of inhabitants from rural areas and urban-type settlements.

The causes, which are the basis for the above-described orientations of young people, as well as the factors, which form the flows of migrants, are diverse. Some of them lie on the surface. Thus, it is well known that rural young people

migrate to the cities mainly for the purpose of continuing their education. Since the overwhelming majority of higher educational institutions and tekhnikums are located in the capitals, the reasons for their attractiveness and, on the contrary, for the low prestige of other cities, in which the network of these educational institutions is poorly developed, become clear. Moreover, rural young people, after graduating from a specialized educational institution in the city, regardless of the acquired occupation and the possibility of its use in the countryside, usually return to their former place of residence. What has been said, of course, does not mean that it is not necessary to improve the system of the location of vocational educational institutions over the territory of the region. On the contrary, it is necessary to transfer a portion of them from the capitals to medium-sized and even small cities.

The "educational" nature of the migration of the rural population lends additional urgency to the problem of the redistribution of manpower resources. However, the basic causes of the low "redistributive" effectiveness of rural-urban migration should be sought first of all in the socioeconomic conditions of life in cities and rural areas. The materials of the study show: the standard of living of the population living in rural areas and urban-type settlements is now higher than in the cities (except the capitals). What does this stem from? First of all, in rural areas and urban-type settlements the wages differ little from the wages in cities. Second, an additional source of income exists in the countryside--the private plot, the profit from which frequently exceeds the wages at sovkhoses or the amount of income from work at a kolkhoz. In this respect one of the spontaneous interviews, which was held in 1981 with the chief agronomist of a Tajik kolkhoz, is revealing. It is a livestock breeding kolkhoz, which is average with respect to all the indicators; it is located for the most part on unirrigated, poor land. The chief agronomist himself has a private plot with an area of about 0.2 hectares, 50 apple trees grow on it. The crop, in the words of the respondent, ranges from 5 tons during the worst years to 15 tons during the most favorable years. He sells the products for 1 ruble per kilogram. Thus, the receipts alone from the sale of apples amounts (depending on the weather conditions) to 5,000 to 15,000 rubles a year. Moreover, on the plot there are two cows and sheep, which provide the family almost completely with meat, milk and wool. The amount of the annual salary of the chief agronomist comes to 2,280 rubles.

The data concerning the satisfaction of the respondents with their material status also testify to the higher standard of living of the population in rural areas than in cities. The index of the satisfaction of young people with the living conditions in Ashkhabad is equal to 691.9, in other cities--625.3, in urban-type settlements--725.6, in rural areas--725.9.

Thus, the aspiration to increase the level of material well-being now can hardly be an effective stimulus for the rural population to move to cities; moreover, precisely the socioeconomic conditions and factors contribute to the attachment of people to the countryside. The large size of the families of the indigenous population is one of these factors. Although this has already been indicated in the literature, data showing the interrelationship of mobility and the size of the family have so far not been cited.

The most important thing is that it is impossible to regard as satisfactory the explanation of this interrelationship. It is usually stressed that the large family

is not very mobile, since it needs a large amount of housing and so on. Such assertions are correct with respect to the family as a whole. But the factor of the large size of the family also limits the mobility of each family member individually, including that of the young people who have not yet started their own family (table). If young people live an independent life, they do not need much living space, many personal services and so forth.

The Orientation of the Graduates of Rural Schools Toward a Place of Residence, percent

Number of children in the family	Capital of republic	Oblast center, other cities	Urban-type settlement, rural areas
Up to 5.	22.2	8.2	69.6
6-7.	23.5	4.9	71.6
8-9.	22.7	4.8	72.5
10 and more.	17.5	4.9	77.6
Total for the sample	21.4	5.6	73.0

The influence of large family size on the limitation of mobility is connected with the fact that, other conditions being equal, in the countryside the level of well-being of the family is higher, the larger its size is, while in cities it is the opposite: the well-being of the family decreases with an increase of the number of children. We consider this conclusion tentative owing to the scarcity of information. Additional research, and research which is based not only on the materials of a survey or interviews, but also on objective data, is necessary. According to the materials of our study, the index of the provision with cultural and personal items, including motor vehicles and motorcycles, for small urban families (which have up to 5 children) is equal to 547, large urban families (6-7 children)--536, very large urban families (8 and more children)--542,² in rural families this indicator is respectively 490, 516 and 519. The relatively high standard of living in the countryside of large families as compared with small families is explained by the fact that rural children and adolescents during practically the entire agricultural season work in social production. According to the obtained data, more than a third of the children of school age work in the fields for 6 or more months during the year and only 8 percent were never employed in agriculture. In the cities, especially the capitals, the picture is the direct opposite.

The extensive involvement of children in agricultural work has twofold consequences for the mobility of the population. First, this has an adverse effect on the quality of school training and as a result on the acquisition by rural young people of occupational knowledge and, second, creates additional opportunities for the increase of the well-being of the family and, consequently, its stability.

It is interesting that adult children, just as their parents, are oriented toward a large family. About 70 percent of those surveyed would like to have a minimum of four children, about a third do not limit their number at all. Moreover, the more children parents have, the more of them young people want to have in their own family. Thus, given the socioeconomic relations, which exist in the Central Asian countryside, large families are more stable and more viable. In our opinion, the desire, which was detected in the process of the study, of the majority of parents to keep their children in the family or near them even when they become adults and

start their own families, in many ways is explained by this. At the same time such an aim is one of the manifestations of the tradition of raising children in total submission to the will of the parents, who frequently solve individually such vitally important problems for young people as the choice of the place of residence, occupation, the place of studies and so on. The study showed that only a negligible portion of the graduates of schools and working young people are independent in this matter, the remainder to one extent or another submit to the will of their parents. And it must be said that with the increase of the number of children in the family the control over their behavior on the part of its older members is strengthened. Thus, in Turkmen families, which consist of 5 or less people, 39.3 percent of the respondents believe that they have the right to settle independently questions which are vitally important for them; in families consisting of 6-7 people--27.1 percent; 8-9 people--30.1 percent; 10-11 people--26.2 percent; 12 and more people--24.5 percent.

The noted regularity is a consequence of primarily the economic conditions of life, and not the sociopsychological peculiarities of the indigenous population. The reasons for which parents insist that their children live together with them attest to this. Material and economic considerations--assistance in the raising of young children, assistance to the parents themselves in old age and others--are the leading, most frequently encountered reasons; then come the reasons which are connected with national traditions--children should live where the parents live and the remains of their ancestors lie; sociopsychological reasons--the fear that among "alien" people, far from their parents the children will have a hard time without their assistance and advice--hold third place. In rural areas parents cite economic considerations more frequently than in cities. Of course, the structure of motivation is different for Uzbekistan and Turkmenia. In Turkmenia more than 80 percent of the respondents insist that children live together with their parents, in Uzbekistan half as many did, in the rural areas of Turkmenia 89 percent of the parents offered economic reasons, in Uzbekistan--25 percent and so on.

The nature of the orientations toward the place of residence is closely connected with the overall appraisal of the urban and rural way of life and its components. The analysis of the results showed that as a whole the attitude toward both the urban and the rural way of life is approximately the same. However, there are substantial differences on both the regional and the sociodemographic level. The graduates of schools rate the rural way of life lower than working young people, among young school people the difference in the appraisals of the urban and rural way of life is more significant. This testifies to the greater migratory mobility of graduates. On the regional level it is possible to note the following. In Turkmenia both the absolute appraisal of the urban way of life and its difference from the appraisal of the rural way of life are much lower than in Uzbekistan. Such a picture is a consequence of the higher level of urbanization in the Uzbek SSR and, moreover, of the substantial differences between the republics in the living conditions of the large rural family. Girls as compared with men rate (both absolutely and relatively) the urban way of life considerably higher than the rural way of life. The real level of migration of rural girls to cities is also higher than among boys. However, they rarely become attached there for permanent residence: after acquiring an occupation, most often hairdressers or garment workers, the girls (usually at the insistence of their parents) return to the villages. Consequently, the solution of the problem of increasing the migration of the rural population to cities consists in creating the conditions for the attachment of the young people who have come to study.

What is the attitude of young people toward the specific components of the rural and urban way of life? The intense and rapid pace of life in the city revealed the lowest rating; for boys the importance of this indicator is less than for girls; for rural young people it is less than for urban young people; in Turkmenia it is less than in Uzbekistan. Young people rate slightly higher the opportunity (and necessity) to live in a modern multistory building. Rural residents, however, give preference to a small single-story building. In both republics life in large urban apartment houses especially attracts girls. Thus, among the boys of Uzbek secondary schools only 23 percent of the respondents expressed such an aspiration, while among girls 39 percent did; in Turkmenia respectively 34 and 49 percent did. The directly opposite picture is observed when evaluating living in a rural single-story house: in Uzbekistan the indicators are respectively 53 and 42 percent, in Turkmenia--45 and 39 percent. What is the reason? Women in the Central Asian countryside bear the main load in running both the household and the private plot, while frequently also combining this with work in social production. In modern urban apartment houses housekeeping has been facilitated, while the private plot in the city most often is entirely lacking.

The surveyed people rated the highest the possibilities of cultural contact and development, which exist in the city (in Uzbekistan these indicators are higher than in Turkmenia). Incidentally, the weak appeal in the eyes of young people of the countryside of oblast and other cities, where the conditions for cultural life are limited, in many ways is explained by this. Preference, as was already noted, is given to the capitals--the leading cultural centers.

The components of the rural way of life according to degree of importance for the respondents were arranged in the following sequence: the opportunity for constant contact with nature, the unhurried and measured pace of life, favorable opportunities for close contact with people, life in a small rural house, the opportunity to have a private plot. Of course, the enumerated components are rated differently by different categories of young people. For girls the absolute indicators for each of them are considerably lower than for boys, especially for such components as the need to look after the private plot and to live in a rural house. These data were obtained in Uzbekistan. In Turkmenia the ratings of the latter factors are similar, but girls rate the remaining components of the rural way of life higher than boys. Of course, rural young people rate them higher than urban young people.

If we calculate the average indicators, it will turn out that of the 10 components of the urban and rural way of life, which were suggested to the respondents, the lowest rating was received by the intense and rapid pace of life (1.98 points) and the need to live in a modern multistory building (2.10); the highest--the possibilities for contact and meaningful cultural leisure (2.77) and the increase of one's cultural level (2.76). Thus, the materials of the study attest: in spite of the contradictory attitude of the respondents toward the process of urbanization in Central Asia, some aims and orientations of young people (on the conditions of the implementation of specific practical measures) can become an effective factor of the increase of their migratory activeness.

Territorial Mobility. In this case the aims, first, at leaving the republic and, second, at moving within the republic: given the labor abundance of the republic as a whole some rayons are experiencing a need for manpower, were studied. Under present conditions, when the opportunities to create new workplaces in Central Asia are

limited, labor mobility is acquiring paramount importance. Another circumstance is lending additional urgency to the problem: in recent times the tendency toward the outflow of the nonindigenous population from the region has been noticed. This fact is of twofold importance. It is of positive importance for the country as a whole, since the shift is taking place primarily to the labor-scarce regions of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, the Baltic republics and so on. For the republics of Central Asia this phenomenon is of a negative nature, since with the low mobility of the rural population a certain shortage of manpower in large cities in general and of skilled manpower in particular is forming: skilled workers and employees usually leave, while people, who do not have the proper training and work experience in industry, are taking their place.

What are the causes of the low territorial mobility of the indigenous population? Above we stated that the aspiration of individuals for a change of their social status, owing to which the factors of social and geographic mobility to a considerable extent coincide, is the heart of mobility, its motive force. However, in the latter case it is necessary to analyze them first of all in the regional aspect. In other words, everything that was said above about the causes of the weak appeal for the rural population of life in the cities, can also be repeated with a few reservations when characterizing the territorial mobility. Let us examine in more detail such a factor as the material status of the population.

The study of the data of state statistics shows: although the average wage in Uzbekistan and Turkmenia is slightly lower than, say, in the Urals, Western Siberia and Altay Kray,³ with respect to the individual regions these indicators for both industry and agriculture are higher than in the mentioned areas. For example, the pay of kolkhoz farmers per worked man-day in the Uzbek SSR is higher than in the Urals, in Turkmenia it is higher than in the Urals and Western Siberia. However, the differences in the nominal wage still do not give a complete idea of the level of the material status of people in some regions or others. The indicators of the cost of living play an important role here. According to the estimates of the Scientific Research Institute of Labor, the expenditures on the material security of the family in Central Asia are approximately 10 percent less than in the Central RSFSR and nearly 20 percent less than in the Urals. If we take into account all the basic factors, which determine the material status of people, then according to our study, in Uzbekistan the aggregate income of workers and employees will be 34.4 percent higher than in Western Siberia; the income of the families of kolkhoz farmers is higher than in a number of other regions and is approximately equal to the income of the families of kolkhoz farmers of Western Siberia.⁴ The data concerning the provision of families with durable goods also attest to the high level of income of the population of the Central Asian republics. Thus, for the residents of Central Asia, to leave it means to worsen their material status, housing conditions and traditional style of life, to say nothing of the need to adapt to new social conditions.

The formed situation leaves little hope that the interregional migration of the indigenous population will occur by itself. It is necessary to set this process on a controlled course and to improve the organizational forms of migration, in particular, to use purposefully those interests and needs of young people, which cannot be completely met locally and for the meeting of which favorable opportunities exist outside Central Asia. In some of its republics so far there are no agricultural resettlement and interrepublic organized recruitment of manpower, and wherever they do exist, the aim at the recruitment of migrants from among the indigenous population

is absent. Meanwhile, according to the data of the study, in Uzbekistan 64.4 percent of the young workers and employees and in Turkmenia 68.2 percent expressed the desire to increase their skills; respectively 62.5 and 65.0 percent expressed the desire to increase their level of education; for this purpose 42.2 and 48.0 percent of those surveyed are willing to leave the republic: to travel about the country, to work in different places, "to see how other people live."

A public call-up could become one of the most effective forms of the interregional and especially the intraregional migration of the population under the conditions of Central Asia. This conclusion is based on the following facts. First, a significant portion of the young people expressed the desire to go to Komsomol shock work projects of the country (11.2 percent of those surveyed in the Uzbek SSR and 15.6 percent in Turkmenia). Second, as was discovered, this aspiration does not depend on the material status of the family, the provision with housing and a number of other economic factors which determine the intensity of mobility.

In 1981 the Scientific Research Institute of Labor jointly with the Komsomol Central Committee conducted a study for the purpose of establishing the role of the public call-up in the territorial mobility of young people.⁵ The main reasons for which, for example, Uzbeks make the decision on a trip on a Komsomol travel authorization, are: the desire to perform one's civic duty--84.0 percent of those surveyed; the aspiration to acquire an occupation and to increase one's occupational skill--79.6 percent; to acquire new friends--78.0 percent; to work in a collective consisting strictly of young people, to get away from the guardianship of elders--69.0 percent. Only 56.9 percent of the respondents noted such reasons as the improvement of housing conditions and the desire to earn a specific amount of money. A relatively large number of Uzbeks indicated as a reason for leaving the republic the aspiration to find a spouse--38.8 percent. Among Russians such a response was received from 22.4 percent of the respondents; among Ukrainians--16.4 percent; the inhabitants of the Baltic republics--17.5 percent. This difference is hardly connected with the unbalance in the sex-age structure of the population.

The lack at home of a suitable job had a definite influence on the decision to leave the republic. Among Uzbeks 37.4 percent indicated this, while among Russians 17.4 percent did, Ukrainians--25.9 percent, the inhabitants of the Baltic republics--20.0 percent. Under the conditions of the changeover to intensive methods of the economy the relatively slow increase of the number of workplaces as compared with the increase of the amount of manpower resources will, obviously further stimulate the potential mobility of the indigenous population. It is necessary, consequently, to aim it in a direction which is most favorable from the point of view of the development of society as a whole.

Labor Mobility. For the republics of Central Asia the redistribution of the indigenous population, and first of all young people, from agriculture to other sectors of the economy is of the greatest importance. The labor abundance of Central Asia is connected first of all with the labor abundance of its agriculture, while many industrial enterprises, especially machine building enterprises, are experiencing a shortage of workers and employees. The study of the problem revealed a very contradictory picture.

During the period of the formation of one's life plans the aim at work in agriculture does not hold the dominant position for young people. According to the data

of the survey, among rural school children of Uzbekistan 15.5 percent of the 10th grade students expressed the wish to work in agriculture, in Turkmenia 36.2 percent did; respectively 23.2 and 32.5 percent expressed the wish to work in industry, 55.0 and 36.1 percent--in nonproduction sectors. Parents also reluctantly recommend to their children that they engage in agriculture. At the same time more than 60 percent of the graduates of rural schools go to work precisely here. Such a lack of conformity between intentions and the actual job placement is explained by a number of socioeconomic and sociopsychological factors. First, the orientation of young people toward living in rural areas has a great influence on labor self-determination; since industry is poorly developed in the Central Asian countryside, the graduates usually go to work in agriculture. The second circumstance is connected with the aspiration of an overwhelming number of 10th grade students to receive a higher education. This, however, in many instances is complicated owing to the poor training of the graduates of rural schools: when returning to the village, they are again faced with the need to get a job in agriculture.

At times it is possible to hear the opinion about a certain traditional reluctance, or about the lack among the indigenous population of an aptitude for industrial labor. Such a point of view is unfounded. Let us turn to the facts. In the cities of Uzbekistan the proportion of Uzbeks in industry comes to 36.0 percent, in construction--25.3 percent, in rural areas respectively 67.4 and 58.3 percent of them are employed in these sectors. Obviously, the relatively small number of the indigenous population in industry and construction is explained not by the lack of a desire to work here, but by the reluctance to live in cities, where industrial and construction organizations are mainly located. Therefore the organization of branches of enterprises in rural areas will make it possible to attract indigenous inhabitants more extensively to work in industry.

The redistribution of the indigenous population from agriculture to industry is being checked by a number of factors which are connected with wages. For example, at the sovkhoses of Turkmenia their level is frequently higher than in light and the food industries and in a number of sectors of machine building. If we also take into account that the workers of agriculture have, moreover, a profitable private plot, it becomes clear: the inhabitants of Central Asian villages do not have a material interest in transferring to industrial enterprises. The weak influx of young school people to industry also stems from the shortcomings in vocational guidance. As a rule, the parents and the immediate circle of a boy or girl play a decisive role in the choice of occupation and the sectors of the application of labor. The possibilities of influencing the family in this respect are limited. Therefore along with the traditional forms of guidance such factors as the school and the mass media should be utilized more. The study showed that for the present they are operating in far from an efficient manner. Under the influence of teachers the school children most often choose humanitarian occupations, somewhat less frequently the occupations of workers of industrial labor and engineering and technical specialties.

At the same time one must not overestimate the role of vocational guidance in the labor and especially the social and territorial mobility of the indigenous population. The results of this work can be significant, if the influence of the socioeconomic factors, which stabilize the rural population, is neutralized or at least is weakened. The practical measures in this area are the theme of a special study.

FOOTNOTES

1. The study was conducted in 1978-1980 by the Department of Manpower Resources of the Scientific Research Institute of Labor of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems under the supervision of the author. In the Uzbek SSR 8,184 people were surveyed; in the Turkmen SSR--3,961, primarily young people: eighth grade students, the graduates of schools, workers and kolkhoz farmers up to the age of 30. The sample is a multistage one, which has been regionalized subject to the manpower supply of the oblasts. Moreover, 395 experts: managerial personnel of party, soviet and public organizations and scientists, were surveyed.
2. The real picture is distorted owing to the people who live in urban-type settlements, of which objective laws similar to those existing in rural areas are characteristic. Therefore the value of the index in the very large family was higher than in the large family.
3. These regions were used because the influx of population to Central Asia to a considerable extent takes place namely from them.
4. Western Siberia is cited as the object of comparison because Central Asia up to now has a positive net migration with this region.
5. In all 1,599 people--champions of the All-Union Komsomol Shock Work Detachment imeni XXVI s"yezda KPSS--were surveyed.

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NATIONAL-TERRITORIAL DIFFERENCES OF EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 118-124

[Article by Marina Mikhaylovna Malysheva, junior scientific associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Employment of Women in Social Production: An Attempt at an Analysis of the National-Territorial Differences"]

[Text] The involvement of women in the sphere of social production, which is closely connected with the indicators of the reproductive behavior, marriages and divorces, the consumer budget and cultural consumption, is a nodal point at which the influence of various factors of the social infrastructure on the lifestyle of the population intersects. At the present stage of the development of Soviet society "a qualitative rearrangement of the demographic behavior" of the population is being noticed [1, p 168]. The changes in the lifestyle and family and everyday relations are responsible for the socioterritorial mobility of women, their "readiness" for skilled industrial labor and the assimilation of modern urbanized models of culture, of which the ideal of the working woman acts as an integral component.

The interrelationship of the indicators of the employment of women in social production with such factors of the socioeconomic development of the republics as the increase of labor productivity, the well-being of the population, the level of urbanization and the birth rate, the development of the social infrastructure, health services and so forth was ascertained in our study. In all 23 indicators, which have a statistical base in union and republic reporting, are included in the analysis. A list of them is cited below (table).

Before analyzing the structure of the interrelationships, let us examine the basic trends of the employment of women. In spite of a definite increase of the number of women among workers and employees as compared with the prewar period [2], substantial differences have been maintained in the structure of their employment both with respect to the sectors of the national economy and with respect to the individual republics of the USSR. The greatest percentage of women is found in trade and public dining (84), health services and social security (82), public education (74) and culture (73) [3]. The feminization of some occupations has, probably, a

M. M. Malysheva is being published in our journal for the first time.

substantial influence on the overall indicators of the employment of women, forming so-called labor stereotypes. But this is a special problem which needs a special study. The differences of a national-territorial nature, which remain very significant, reflecting the differentiation of the lifestyle of the population of the European and Asian regions of the country, interest us. The contracted reproduction of the population, the nuclearization of the family, relatively high social and labor mobility and so forth are characteristic of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic republics. The sharply expanded reproduction of the population, considerable idle manpower resources, low mobility and other features, which accompany a patriarchal lifestyle, are being observed in Central Asia and a number of regions of the Caucasus. As to the employment of women, given its overall increase the differences between the republics with respect to this indicator even increased: whereas in 1940 the maximum spread was 12 percent (the RSFSR and Tajikistan), in 1980 it already came to 15 percent (Estonia and Tajikistan) [2].

Indicators of Social Development of the Union Republics

No	Item	Year	Source of information
1	Percentage of women in total number of workers and employees	1980	"Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g." [The USSR National Economy in 1980], Moscow, Finansy i statistika, 1981, p 362
2	Percentage of women in average annual number of all kolkhoz farmers who took part in the work of kolkhozes	1979	VESTNIK STATISTIKI, No 1, 1981, p 71
3	Employed population (except those employed on the private plot)	1979	VESTNIK STATISTIKI, No 1, 1981, pp 64-65
4	Growth rate of labor productivity in industry (percent of 1970)	1979-1980	Statistical yearbooks of the union republics
5	Growth rate of labor productivity in agriculture (percent of 1970)	1979-1980	Statistical yearbooks of the union republics
6	Percentage of urban population in the total population	1980	"Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g.," p 10
7	Number of women having a higher, incomplete higher and secondary specialized education, per 1,000 people employed in social production	1979	VESTNIK STATISTIKI, No 2, 1981, pp 63-78
8	Number of women having an elementary education, per 1,000 people employed in social production	1979	VESTNIK STATISTIKI, No 2, 1981, pp 63-78
9	Percentage of women among scientists	1979	"Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g.," p 95
10	Number of the population having a higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education, per 1,000 people employed in the national economy	1980	"Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g.," p 29
11	Percentage of people of the indigenous nationality, who are fluent in Russian	1979	"Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g.," p 24
12	Number of births per 1,000 people	1980	"Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g.," p 33

[Table continued on following page]

No	Item	Year	Source of information
13	Average family size (family members living together)	1980	"Narodnoye khozyaystvo Estonskoy SSR v 1980 g." [The Estonian SSR National Economy in 1980], Tallinn, Eesti Raamat, 1981, p 27
14	Number of divorces per 1,000 people	1979-1980	Statistical yearbooks of the union republics
15	Per capita real income (percent of 1970)	1979-1980	Statistical yearbooks of the union republics
16	Percentage of children in preschool institutions	1980	"Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g.," p 410
17	Per capita sales volume of personal services (in rubles)	1980	"Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g.," p 452
18	Number of personal service enterprises per 1,000 people	1980	"Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g.," p 450
19	Number of retail trade enterprises per 1,000 people	1980	"Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g.," p 441
20	Number of public dining enterprises per 1,000 people	1980	"Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g.," p 441
21	Number of hospital beds per 1,000 people	1980	"Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g.," p 499
22	Number of physicians per 10,000 people	1980	"Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g.," p 496
23	Number of intermediate medical personnel per 10,000 people	1980	"Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1980 g.," p 497

The procedure elaborated by Z. Hellwig, which is similar to the frequently used technique of "the maximum correlation path," was used for the study of the interdependence of the indicators.¹

The main result of the conducted mathematical statistical analysis is the breakdown of the initial set of indicators into three interconnected groups (Figure 1). At the center of the first, most extensive group are the indicators which characterize the demographic behavior of the population: average family size (No 13), the number divorces (No 14) and the level of the birth rate (No 12). Precisely these variables determine the center which is the maximum in "power"—the percentage of women in the total number of workers and employees. In themselves these data are quite trivial: they reflect the qualitative differences in the demographic situation and the types of family and everyday lifestyle, which have formed in the European and Asian regions of the country.

As the study showed, of the socioeconomic factors the provision with medical personnel (No 23) and preschool institutions (No 16) is most closely connected with the employment of women. The health of mother and child, which in many ways depends on timely medical assistance, the performance of a number of preventive measures and the prevention of infectious diseases, is an important factor which influences the ability of women to work. Precisely the caring for a sick child, especially during the first 3 years of his life, most often forces a woman to interrupt her labor activity, and in large families to break away completely from

participation in social production. This especially applies to women of the Central Asian republics. Let us note that a much smaller number of children are covered here by permanent preschool institutions than in other republics.

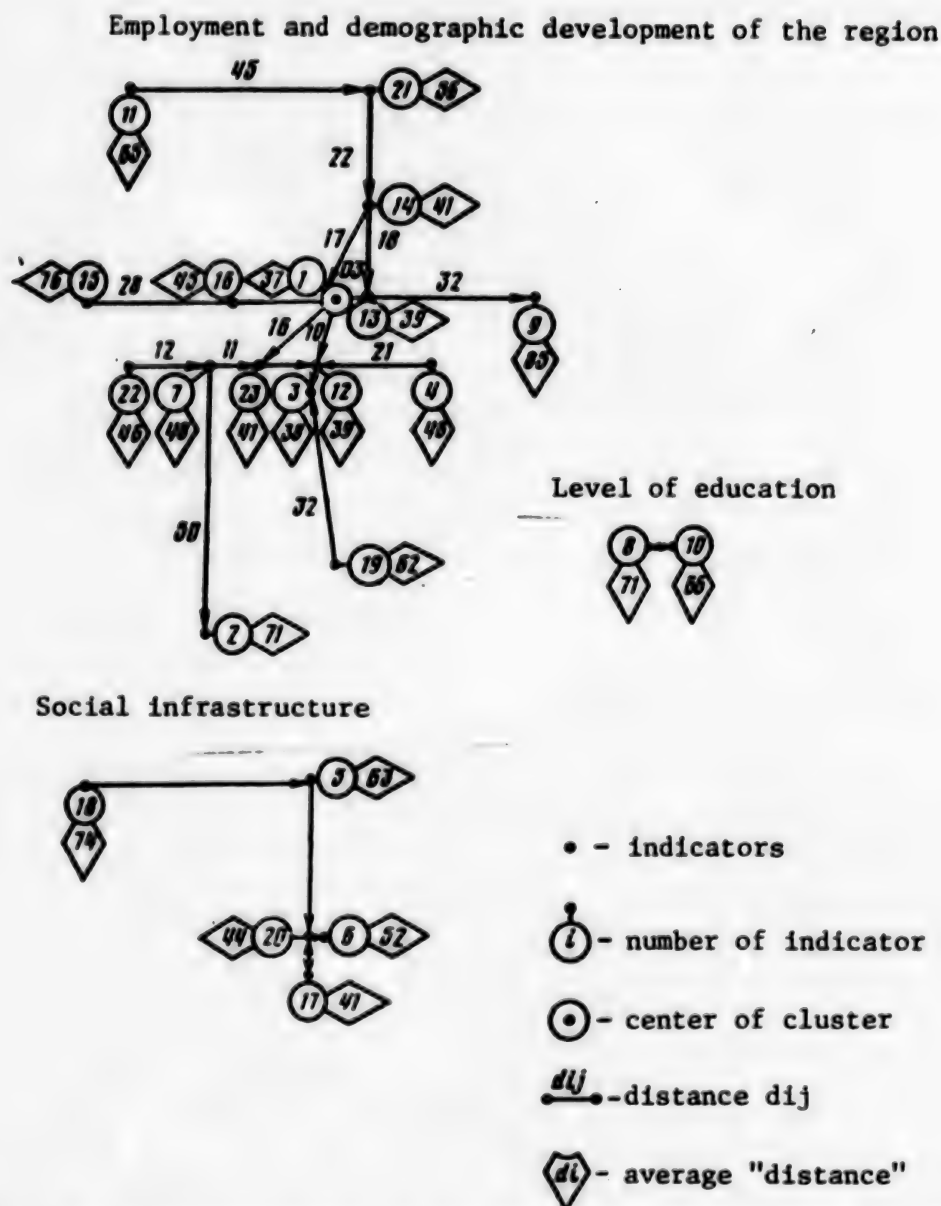


Figure 1. The Interdependence of the Indicators of the Social Development of the Union Republics. A Taxonomic Diagram

The correlation coefficient yields only a general, somewhat schematic appraisal of the interdependence of the indicators of the provision of the population with preschool institutions and the employment of women. In spite of the high correlation density, the nature of its distribution is ambiguous (Figure 2). The general trend, however, is clearly traced: high indicators of the employment of women and the number of children in preschool institutions are characteristic of the republics of the European part of the USSR. In the Estonian SSR, for example, nearly

every other child attends kindergartens and nurseries. Moreover, whereas with respect to the indicator of employment these republics are drawing closer, in the provision with preschool institutions the gap between Estonia and Lithuania, for example, is 17 percent. The Uzbek SSR in this respect is approaching the level of Lithuania, although the employment of women here is 10 percent lower. Apparently, the interdependence of the indicated variables is a consequence of another, more important "latent" factor, which governs the development of the situation as a whole.

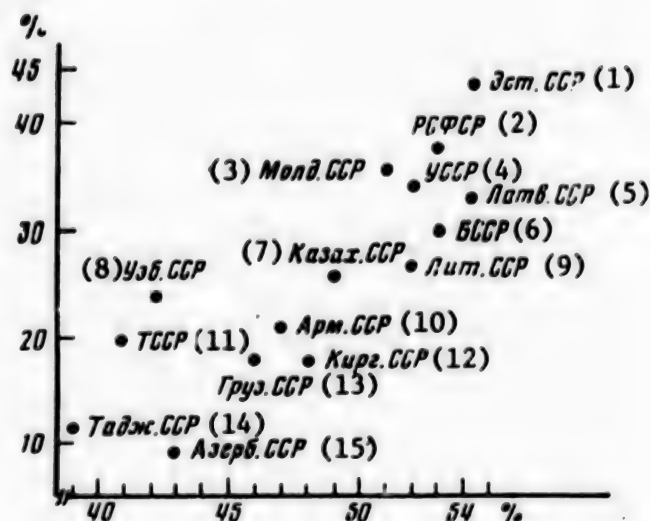


Figure 2. The Interconnection of the Employment of Women with the Number of Children in Preschool Institutions

Key:

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Estonian SSR | 9. Lithuanian SSR |
| 2. RSFSR | 10. Armenian SSR |
| 3. Moldavian SSR | 11. Turkmen SSR |
| 4. Ukrainian SSR | 12. Kirghiz SSR |
| 5. Latvian SSR | 13. Georgian SSR |
| 6. Belorussian SSR | 14. Tajik SSR |
| 7. Kazakh SSR | 15. Azerbaijan SSR |
| 8. Uzbek SSR | |

The process of urbanization and the increase of the proportion of urban residents in the total size of the population are perhaps such a factor. Researchers explain the influence of urbanization on the demographic picture by the following factors: first, the difficulties with housing substantially limit the level of the birth rate. Second, the city creates extensive opportunities for the realization of different life values and priorities, which frequently compete with the orientation toward a "family" way of life. Third, urban women, who are economically more independent and better educated, attach particular importance to activity outside the family [4, pp 182-183].

As the data show, the correlation of the employment of women with the level of urbanization is quite high and the "axis" of distribution runs, as in the preceding

case, from Tajikistan to Estonia (Figure 3). However, if we exclude from the analysis the group of highly urbanized Baltic republics, the RSFSR and the Ukraine, the interdependence of the characteristics will become not that significant. How is one to explain in this case the high level of employment of women in Moldavia, where the share of the urban population comes to only 41 percent? With the same level of urbanization Uzbekistan lags in the number of women among workers and employees behind Moldavia by 9 percent. Perhaps the "explanatory ability" of the indicators of urbanization would be higher, if not only the administrative status of the settlement, but also its size, infrastructure and other qualitative characteristics were taken into account. It is well known that the way of life of the population of small and even medium-sized cities frequently bears traits of the "traditional" lifestyle.

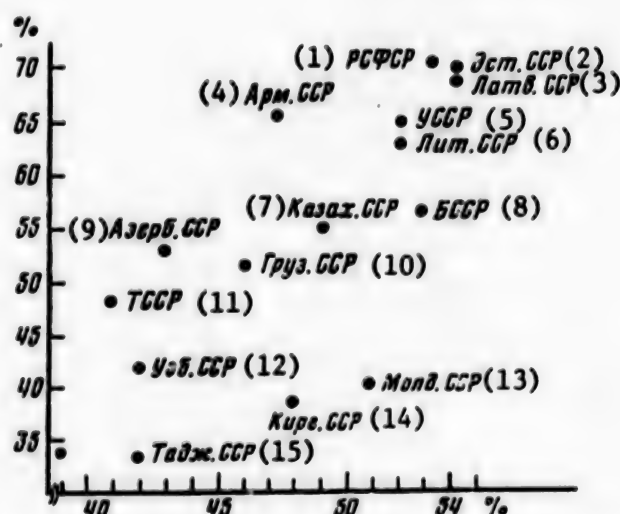


Figure 3. The Interconnection of the Employment of Women With the Level of Urbanization

Key:

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. RSFSR | 9. Azerbaijan SSR |
| 2. Estonian SSR | 10. Georgian SSR |
| 3. Latvian SSR | 11. Turkmen SSR |
| 4. Armenian SSR | 12. Uzbek SSR |
| 5. Ukrainian SSR | 13. Moldavian SSR |
| 6. Lithuanian SSR | 14. Kirghiz SSR |
| 7. Kazakh SSR | 15. Tajik SSR |
| 8. Belorussian SSR | |

The fact that in the obtained model the number of women among workers and employees is very weakly connected with the analogous indicator among kolkhoz farmers (No 2) attracts attention. The latter in general is "detached" from the group, that is, depends little on the demographic characteristics of the population. It is possible to explain this, in our opinion, by the peculiarities of statistical accounting at the kolkhozes.

The growth rate of labor productivity in industry (No 4) has a considerable influence on demographic behavior, while in agriculture this indicator (No 5) falls to the second group, which can be defined as "the development of the social infrastructure" (see Figure 1), with which the capacity of public dining enterprises (No 20), the percentage of the urban population (No 6), the sales volume of personal services (No 17) and so on are grouped. It is characteristic that we did not find a direct relationship between the social infrastructure and the employment of women, and this is explained, in our opinion, not only by the interpretational possibilities of the "upper" section of the system of indicators. Apparently, the sphere of personal service for the present still does not have a substantial influence on the way of life of a woman (of course, as compared with other factors).

Two closely, but negatively connected variables made up the third block: the number of women who have an elementary education (No 8) and the size of the population with a higher and secondary education (No 10). Here there is a quite trivial case of the so-called estimated interdependence, which it is recommended to avoid when constructing the initial group of characteristics. However, let us note a rather interesting fact: the level of education does not have an overriding influence on the demographic "block" and the employment of women. The percentage of women among scientists (No 9) and the number of women who have a higher, incomplete higher and secondary specialized education (No 7) are far from the "nucleus" of the first group.

The interdependences analyzed by us make it possible to draw the conclusion of the decisive influence on the employment of women of an entire group of factors--the obvious characteristics of a single latent variable, which it is possible to designate as the dominant type of the way of life of the population, which develops under specific socioeconomic conditions from the patriarchal to the urbanized way of life.

To summarize, it is possible to formulate the conclusion about the relative isolation, autonomy of the sphere of demographic behavior and, if we take it more broadly, of the lifestyle from the infrastructure of society. This autonomy finds expression first of all in the fact that the influence of the objective factors of socioeconomic development is mediated by subjective, spiritual regulators of the way of life: traditions, norms, national customs and stereotypes. Moreover, this also reflects the fact that the sphere of everyday life for the present is not meeting the demands of the population first of all with respect to the quality of services. For this reason the correlation models also do not establish its substantial influence on sociodemographic processes.

Undoubtedly, the level of employment of women in social production will increase, but at the same time the changes in the lifestyle, orientations and systems of values, which accompany it, will be firmly established. Labor is becoming for a woman not only a means for life, but also a form of self-realization and self-affirmation. "In socialist society it is not the status of a woman that determines the model of the family, but, on the contrary, the family changes and develops, while adapting to the change of the status of the woman. Therefore the Marxist-Leninist assessment of these changes is based on the need first of all for the development of the personality of a woman herself. Such a consistently humanistic approach, having been extended to the family, signifies that its social value is a value which has been mediated by the individual interests of spouses and individuals" [4, p 156]. However, it is hardly possible to confidently assert that

the problem finds its conclusion in the ideal of the working woman, who in fact ensures her own equality. It is not ruled out that in the notions of future generations the working woman will be the same kind of result of the relentless circumstances of life as the woman who is tied to the home.

FOOTNOTE

1. The procedure presumes the following operations. On the basis of a matrix of data $n \times m$, where n is the indicators and m is the objects (in our case the union republics) the correlation coefficient is calculated:

$$r = \frac{\sum (x_i - \bar{x})(y_i - \bar{y})}{(n-1) \sqrt{\frac{\sum (x_i - \bar{x})^2}{n-1}} \sqrt{\frac{\sum (y_i - \bar{y})^2}{n-1}}}$$

As a result a correlation matrix (r), measuring $n \times n$, where n is the number of indicators, was obtained.

Further, instead of the calculation of the loads, which is traditional for factor analysis, the transformation of the correlation matrix into a matrix of distances (D), an entry of which is $d_{ij} = 1 - (r_{ij})$, is carried out. Matrix (D) also has the dimensions $n \times n$, is symmetrical and $d_{ij} \geq 0$. All the subsequent operations on the construction of the curve of "the maximum correlation path" are carried out in matrix (D).

In each row of the matrix the minimum "distances" between the variables are determined, after which the number of the column, in the intersection with which the given square is located, is written out. As a result we obtain n pair of indicators: $(1, j_1), (2, j_2), (3, j_3), \dots, (n, j_n)$.

When constructing the diagram (Figure 1) in individual instances we took into account more than one connection. As a whole it reflects the maximum "upper" section of the interconnections of the indicators of the social development of the republics. Z. Hellwig proposes to interpret the number of the interconnections of the indicator (-center) as its "power." If the "powers" of the centers are equal, the minimum value criterion is used:

$$d_i = \frac{1}{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^n d_{ij}.$$

Here it is assumed that the centers with the greatest "power" are the "representatives" of the entire group of indicators [3, p 15].

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PROBLEMS OF INDICATORS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 125-129

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Boris Pavlovich Kuttyrev, chief of a department of the journal EKONOMIKA I ORGANIZATSIYA PROMYSHLENNOGO PROIZVODSTVA: "Social 'Photography' or Social Control?"]

[Text] One of the most important problems of the planning of social development at the present stage is the development of an adequate system of indicators. In what does the essence of the latter consist, what are their functions? Do they always reflect those complex, and at times contradictory processes which characterize social development? Does not their planning reduce to the filling out of numerous forms and tables or, as frequently happens when drawing up the social and socioeconomic passports of labor collectives, to the gathering of an enormous collection of information, from which extremely few conclusions, which are useful for practice, are derived?

These questions, which were touched upon in the article of V. F. Mayyer et al. [1] only in passing, were brought to the forefront in the work of V. D. Patrushev [2], which is quite natural, since when studying precisely the budgets of time, one very often has occasion to run across situations, when phenomena, which differ substantially, lie behind some indicators or others (expenditures of time, types of activity). Thus, for example, although it is a question of the same amount, a hour of waiting by a person for some event is not equal in this respect to an hour of engagement in a favorite pursuit, the hour of labor differs for two workers and so on.

In connection with what was said above it is expedient, in our opinion, to revise the approach to the analysis of free time. (The article of V. F. Statkus "Social Planning and the Prevention of Offenses" [3] also urges this.) Free time is usually interpreted as that sphere of the vital activity of people, which should be increased. However, in themselves the indicators of the increase of free time far from always suggest that it is necessary or useful to do this, since it can be used to no purpose, to say nothing of deviant behavior. Moreover, individual types of work at home, which are not attributable to free time (food preparation and so

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forth), frequently play for the individual a role which does not differ from "leisure" pursuits [4]. Therefore, it is hardly wise to judge planned social changes on the basis of the indicators of aggregated free time.

The differences between the reflection and what is reflected, the form and the content are observed not only in areas which are measurable by indicators of time. For example, the evaluation of the activity of an enterprise with respect to the gross output with its double counting, which is condemned by everyone, for a long period served as a statewide indicator. It is also well known that frequently not the offenses of one manager or another, but his good deeds, which are aimed at the improvement of the working and living conditions of the workers, lie behind the number of reprimands which are received by him during the year.

L. S. Korovin [5] proposed to use the indicator "national wealth" for the planning of the social development of the city. It would probably be more accurate to call it "urban wealth," but it is a matter of something else. Everything that is produced and accumulated by the residents of the city is assigned to the wealth. However, with respect to the indicator, which reflects this value, it is difficult to compare different cities adequately. Other factors being equal, the city which is located in a more favorable natural environment, is in a better position. Wealth is also the opportunity to utilize (frequently while abusing) nature, in which man has invested nothing. Consequently, the use of recommended indicator can lead to incorrect conclusions.

A classification of the functions, which should be performed by time indicators, is given in the mentioned article of V. D. Patrushev. With respect to the indicators of social development as a whole such an approach, undoubtedly, merits endorsement. I would like, however, to pose the question more broadly: To what is such great attention to indicators attributable today? Of course, the role of social factors is steadily increasing, but behind the inordinate enthusiasm for social indicators there often lies, in our opinion, an attempt to replace with them the essence and goal of the measures being planned. It is believed that the more of them that are outlined in the plans of the social development of collectives of enterprises, the better. There are even "substantiations" of the specific amount of the percentage of fulfillment of measures--75-80 percent, and in spite of the fact that during the accomplishment of the assignments their unacceptability, unreasonability and at times harmfulness can be established, the performers in defiance of common sense continue to insist on the indispensable achievement of the figure which has become a bugbear.

Let us cite the most typical examples, when the indicator does not correspond to the content of a phenomenon.

Let us take the turnover of personnel. First of all let us note: it has been established by numerous studies that its optimum amount is different for different regions, sectors and enterprises. Thereby the legitimacy of comparisons comes into question. Moreover, the indicator of the turnover might be decreased by no means by the elimination of the problems which caused it. Assume that a set of prohibitions on transferring from enterprise to enterprise is envisaged in the plan of the social development of a city. The system was effective, the turnover declined. But the shortcomings in the organization of the matter remained. Outwardly, judging from the indicators, everything will be fine, but the taken steps, no doubt, will

be an obstacle in the way of social progress. The situation is aggravated even more when various management decisions are drawn up on the basis of an inadequate indicator. Thus, many procedural statutes recommend that the economic and social efficiency of the plans of social development be evaluated in accordance with the decrease of the turnover of personnel. Incentives or punishments are established for the line managers for its decrease or increase, the data on the turnover are used when tallying the results of the socialist competition and so forth. What has been said by no means implies that it is possible in general to ignore this indicator, it is a matter of taking into account all the complexity and contradictoriness of the phenomenon in question, since otherwise social costs and adverse consequences are inevitable.

Another graphic example of the disagreement of the "reflector" and "what is reflected" is the recently introduced form of the statistical accounting of the brigade organization of labor "2t (brigade)." A careful analysis attests that mainly the number of created brigades, including by types and kinds, and not the qualitative changes, are taken into account [6]. The lessons of the past, as is evident, have not done any good: a new enthusiasm--for the indicator of "brigadization"--has succeeded the recent enthusiasm for the indicator of the number of those participating in the movement of shockworkers of communist labor.

It is well known that a skillfully made photograph can present an object in the necessary light--it can embellish and single out some features or conceal, gloss over others. The analysis of the situation, which has now formed in social planning (in case of which a steady increase of the number of indicators, which frequently not only do not reflect the essence of the phenomena and processes lying behind them, but also distort reality, is being observed), attests: the emphasis is being placed most often on social "photography."

For the sake of fairness it should be noted that it is a quite practicable matter to draw up in accordance with the "photographs" (passports) of the collectives of enterprises the plans of their social development. However, some "features" or others are far from always interpreted correctly, the requirement to examine first the content, and then to use the indicator is not always observed.

Social "photography" cannot be neutral, it performs the function which is assigned to it, in other words, it reflects reality in a specific manner, and the picture, as we have attempted to demonstrate, is frequently distorted.

Before proceeding to constructive suggestions on the use of social indicators, let us examine such an important question, which is necessary for the understanding of the role of the latter, as the goals of planning and the plans of social development. First of all attention should be directed to the fact that the activity which is usually called planning includes, in addition to planning as such, execution, instruction, monitoring and so forth. In our opinion, it is therefore more correct to speak of indicators of social control, emphasizing thereby that they should serve not only as landmarks and guidelines, but also as a tool of the transformations which lead to social progress. Since social development encompasses all the spheres of the vital activity of people, that is, actually their life, during which it is necessary to solve a large number of minor and major, important and secondary, real and mock problems, the goal of the planning of social development can be formulated as the identification (diagnosis) and finding of the means of solving

the social problems of the collective, the community and the individual. Hence, too, follows the role of social indicators.

Practical experience attests: false problems are frequently posed and solved in the plans of the social development of labor collectives. For example, in one city or another it was decided to build a stadium. The amounts of capital investments necessary for the accomplishment of the outlined measure are recorded in the plan by years. What kind of problem is it called upon to solve? Apparently, according to the standards the city was lacking this structure. However, it seems that such a statement of the question is false. It is hard for people, who get tired at work, from traveling and at stores, to come here (especially if they live far from the stadium) not only to engage in physical culture and sports, but also to attend sports matches. In reality the problem consists in creating realistic conditions for physical development--in the vicinity of the place of residence. Sets of apparatus, exercises and games, in which all the members of the family could participate, exist. Although the expenditures on this are much less than on the construction of a stadium, while the impact is substantially greater, the developers, as a rule, do not take this route, citing the impossibility of keeping a record and the lack of indicators. As a result, in spite of the fact that the number of masters of sports and people with a sports rating and the expenditures on construction are stipulated in the plan, the problem remains unsolved.

Let us take as an example another sphere of social practice. The indicators usually included in the section "Medical Service," namely: the number of hospital beds and drugstores, the capacity and placement into operation of outpatient polyclinic institutions, the number of medical positions, the provision of the population with hospital beds per 10,000 residents, the number of beds at sanatoriums, the number of spaces at homes for invalids and the aged, far from always reflect the true problems.

In our opinion, additional indicators, which would direct attention to the steady improvement of the health of the population, and not only to the development of a single social subsystem--medical service--are necessary. Among such indicators there could be, for example, the increase of the proportion of the early diagnoses of occupational diseases, the increase of the number of favorable outcomes of surgical interventions and so forth. The work of medical people on preventing the dangerous pollution of the environment is acquiring particular importance. Indicators reflecting this work are also expedient.

From what has been said the conclusion follows that the system of indicators of social development needs a specific--namely social--orientation. What is usually proposed has a specific orientation, it is primarily of a departmental nature, when the indicators reflect the needs for the social development of some separate subsystem, for example, as was already stated, medical service.

It is possible to object that if every subsystem is interested in its "own" indicators, the social development of the entire system will be ensured. Such an objection, in our opinion, is illegitimate. The whole is not equal to the sum of the parts, in this case the latter is less than the desired and potential sum. Those indicators, which attest to the development of individuals, acquire the correct social orientation.

In order to develop a system of adequate indicators, it is necessary to have a hierarchically organized system of the goals of social development--a tree of goals. The supergoal, or goal of the zero rank, is the meeting of the needs of people. The indicators for it are the resources of all types, which society is capable of investing during the period being planned. It should immediately be noted that the amount of these resources should vary subject to the results of the situational analysis. It is possible to proceed from the established trends, but it is possible to presume "surprises." In any case it is expedient to draw up at once several scenarios (pictures) of the future. The lack of versions and probable scenarios is the main reason that plans are not fulfilled.

The goals of the first rank are the meeting of individual needs (for more detail see [7]). The indicators of the goals of this level should reflect the optimum distribution of the available real resources (according to the versions in conformity with the situational analysis) among the individual needs. It is important for the drafter of the plan to identify the priorities of the individual needs, to allocate resources for them and by means of an adequate indicator stimulate the search for original solutions, which promote the increase of assets, so that it would be possible to transfer them "upward" for subsequent redistribution. In this case it is necessary to revise anew the scenarios of the future, which should find reflection in the plan.

If in the plans of social development there are indicators of the rate of improvement of housing conditions for everyone instead of square meters, the decrease of the likelihood of being subjected to attack by hooligans instead of the number of violations and so forth, every member of the collective will treat planning with greater interest and will take an active part in it.

The point is that the need for the increase of production efficiency for the meeting of the needs of the individual is realized by the latter--if it is realized at all--only indirectly, through a large number of intermediate relations. It is difficult to understand, for example, why in the plan of the social development of a city the increase of the efficiency of the use of manpower resources is posed as the main goal. The working people themselves strive to meet their own needs. Consequently, it is necessary to see to it that at the same time production efficiency would also increase. As an illustration let us cite the introduction of official instructions for engineering and technical personnel and employees. If attention is directed in this case only toward the increase of the efficiency of management, the result may turn out to be minimal, although the "coverage" will come to 100 percent of the number of this group. It is another matter when the official instructions serve the elimination of conflicts due to an error or vagueness in the delegation of rights and duties. The improvement of the sociopsychological conditions of labor is one of the directions of the meeting of the need for labor, that is, one of the goals of the second rank. The conclusion that it is necessary to use the indicator of the improvement of the sociopsychological climate, suggests itself.

Let us note in conclusion that the measures, the implementation of which in the end will lead to the achievement of the goals of the highest rank, should be planned at the lowest rank. The following set of indicators: the cost, time, labor expenditures, transportation, those responsible, incentives and punishments and so forth, is characteristic of the measures. As a whole the set of indicators of social development will be a tree of indicators, in which the necessity of each of them stems from its connections with the others.

The proposed approach will change the essence of the indicators of social development, their functions and role. They will become a means of social control, and not simply features of social "photography." It is obvious that in order to accomplish this it is necessary to revise considerably the notion of social development, the technology and procedures of the planning of the latter.

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INDICATORS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 129-133

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Il'ich Bolgov, senior scientific associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "On the Indicators of the Development of Culture"]

[Text] The set of indicators, which is proposed by the authors of the article "On the Question of the Indicators of Social Development in Statewide Plans of the USSR" [1], reflects the rich experience of planning in our country, including social planning [2]. Moreover, in addition to the traditional sections and indicators, new ones, which so far have not appeared in the procedural elaborations of planning organs, are included in the list. There is, for example, the block "The Budget of Time of the Population." The importance of the corresponding indicators for social control has been thoroughly revealed by Soviet scientists, and therefore their presence in the plan seems quite valid.

At the same time the proposed set of indicators, in our opinion, has a number of essential shortcomings. Here, in particular, there are no indicators which characterize the subjective aspect of social development, the functioning of the social infrastructure is not presented in a social class context. Meanwhile without such elements the list of indicators cannot provide adequate guidelines for the movement of Soviet society in the direction of social homogeneity. The indicated, as well as other shortcomings, which have been noted in the debate in the pages of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, in many ways are connected with the inadequate use of the achievements of Soviet sociology in the area of the construction of social indicators [3]. What has been said also concerns the indicators of culture.

The block of indicators "Culture and Art," which is cited in the article under discussion, is based on the Procedural Instructions on the Drafting of State Plans

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of USSR Economic and Social Development of USSR Gosplan, in particular, on the section "The Drafting of the Comprehensive Plan of the Social Development and the Increase of the Standard of Living of the People" [2, pp 725-730]. However, here and in the offered article not all of the indicators are social. In our opinion, of the 26 indicators of the block "7.2. Culture and Art" only 4 are of this kind. There are two estimated indicators--"The Number of Seats at Urban Movie Theaters, Clubs, Houses of Culture and Other Permanent Movie Projection Facilities, Where Showing of Movies for a Fee Is Carried Out (Seats Per 1,000 People of the Urban Population)" and "The Average Attendance Rate of Movie Theaters (Per Person a Year, Total, Including Attendances With a Breakdown by the City and the Countryside)"--and two gross indicators--"The Number of Those Engaged in Them, Thousands" (it is a question of circles, clubs, studios for children) and "The Number of Those Engaged in Circles, Collectives and Associations, Which Operate at Club Institutions (Total, Including With a Breakdown by the City and the Countryside, Thousands of People)." The remainder characterize either the material base or the results of the production activity of the sectors of culture. The stated views can also be applied to the other sectors of indicators of the social infrastructure, which are contained in the article.

The use of the indicators of culture, which are proposed by the authors, will lead to the reproduction--and on a considerably greater scale than now--of the disproportions existing today, for example, between the development and the meeting of the various spiritual needs of the population. For example, so far the opportunities for meeting through cultural institutions such a fundamental need as contact during free time are extremely slight. Meanwhile, one of the reasons for the spread among a portion of the young people of various forms of antisocial behavior is the lack at clubs, houses of culture and so on of favorable conditions for cultural contact. According to the data of sociological studies, only 15-20 percent of friendly meetings occur here--the rest occur at home or on the street. The proportion of people (up to 50 percent and more), who are not satisfied with the operation of clubs, is also large. As a result for a great part of the time the halls are empty, the attendance of club measures is low, especially among the representatives of the groups of the population with a high level of cultural development (skilled workers, the intelligentsia). As a whole the block of indicators "7.2. Culture and Art," and following it practice are oriented toward the planning of culture as a sector of the national economy. In our opinion, in order to perform the functions of a set of social indicators, such a list should set as the main goal the increase of the cultural level of the population.

In this article we propose a rough list of the social indicators of culture (see the Appendix), which takes into account both the practical experience of the planning of culture and the achievements of the sociology of culture. Here we proceeded from the following methodological principles and considerations of a procedural order.

1. The social indicators of culture should reflect both the objective and the subjective characteristics of the cultural processes which are occurring in different social communities. Such a combination will make it possible to envisage in the plans a unified set of socioeconomic and ideological measures. Not one subjective indicator is cited in the above-mentioned set. Meanwhile considerable experience of their construction and use when conducting sociological studies exists [4]. There are included in the list proposed by us, for example, the indicator of the

satisfaction with the content of the activity of cultural institutions as a whole and their individual types, the indicator of the cultural needs of the population. Subjective indicators are especially necessary wherever it must be determined, to what extent the methods of work of cultural institutions conform to the cultural needs of people. Thus, today, according to the data of studies, not so much the material base of culture, on which in fact the emphasis is placed in planning, but the forms and content of mass cultural work are responsible for the dissatisfaction of the respondents. In this connection the study of the level of development of the cultural needs of the population holds an important place. The latter in the proposed list are measured by means of the indicator of the desired amount of the expenditures of time and monetary assets on their satisfaction. The degree of satisfaction of the needs is determined by the comparison of the actual and desired expenditures of the population on the meeting of cultural demands.

The subjective indicators are fundamentally linked with the objective indicators. Among them is: the actually achieved or the planned level of cultural activity and the consumption of cultural values (the provision and attendance by the population of cultural institutions, the expenditures of time and monetary assets for these purposes). Some of the listed indicators are already being used in planning (the provision and attendance by the population of cultural institutions), but without a characterization in the social class context. They should undoubtedly also be used henceforth. At the same time a number of other objective indicators should also be introduced, for example, the provision of the population with cultural items for individual (family) use.

2. The set of social indicators of culture should be a fundamental combination of generalizing, synthetic and comprehensive indicators and special indicators, which reflect individual aspects and components of cultural processes. The indicators of the average expenditures of time and monetary assets of the population on the meeting of cultural needs are among the generalizing indicators; the expenditures of time on going to individual cultural institutions and on carrying out various types of cultural activity under domestic conditions are among the special indicators. It is possible to judge the cultural level of different social groups from the structure of the monetary expenditures and expenditures of time on culture.

3. All the indicators of culture (wherever this is possible and expedient) should be given in a social class context. This will make it possible to solve in conformity with a plan in the sphere of culture the problem of increasing the social homogeneity of Soviet society.

4. The set is constructed (with a few exceptions) on the basis of four estimated values for each indicator: the actually achieved, the desired, the ideal and the planned level. The actually achieved value acts as the base, starting point of the increase (change). The desired value reflects the level, which corresponds to the complete meeting of the formed needs during the base period. The ideal level determines the ultimate, guiding reference points of the development of the process. The planned level is in the space between the actually achieved level, on the one hand, and the desired and ideal levels, on the other. It is clear that the significance of the indicators being planned depends first of all on the economic, organizational and educational potentials of society in the planned future and should be backed by a set of appropriate measures.

5. In spite of the fact that the social indicators of culture act as independent indicators, it is necessary to ensure their fundamental connection with the economic and production indicators of the activity of the sectors of culture.

6. The information support of the indicators of culture can be ensured on the basis of the comprehensive use of statistical information, the results of concrete sociological studies and the materials of surveys of the population and experts.

At present in the ministries and departments, which are connected in one way or another with the development of culture (the ministries of culture of the USSR and the union republics, the State Committee for Cinematography, the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade), there are sociological services and scientific subdivisions, which are studying the social aspects of the development of culture. These studies are playing an important role in the practice of planning. The activity of such services should be expanded first of all by the obtaining of information on the indicators of the plan of social development. Accordingly, the task of increasing the coordination and the procedural level of the work of the sociological subdivisions in the area of both the planning of the development of culture and the systematic gathering of information on the achievement of the plan indicators is arising for planning (union and republic) organs.

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APPENDIX

A Rough List of the Social Indicators of Culture

1. The average attendance by the population of cultural institutions, including with a breakdown by their individual types (per person a year, separately in the city and the countryside, with a breakdown by classes and social groups); the actual value during the base period, the desired and planned values.
2. The average expenditures of the population on going to cultural institutions and meeting cultural needs under domestic conditions, in hours (per person a year, including in the city and the countryside, with a breakdown by classes and social groups); the actual, desired and planned values.
3. The average expenditures of time on going to cultural institutions, including with a breakdown by their individual types, in hours (per person a year, in the city and the countryside, with a breakdown by classes and social groups); the actual, desired and planned values.
4. The average expenditures of time on meeting cultural needs under domestic conditions, including with a breakdown by individual types of cultural needs (per person a year, in the city and the countryside, with a breakdown by classes and social groups); the actual, desired and planned values.
5. The average expenditures by the population of monetary assets on meeting cultural needs, in rubles (per person a year, including in the city and the countryside, with a breakdown by classes and social groups); the actual, desired and planned values.
6. The provision of the population with cultural institutions as a whole and their individual types (number of seats per 1,000 people, including in the city and the countryside); the actual and planned values.
7. The provision of the population with cultural items for individual (family) use (televisions, radios, musical instruments, books and so on), separately for each type (the number of units per 100 families, including in the city and the countryside); the actual, desired and planned values.
8. The number of people who are engaged in circles, amateur art collectives and interest associations (per 1,000 people, including in the city and the countryside, with a breakdown by classes and social groups); the actual, desired and planned values.
9. The average number of read books and journals (per person a year, including in the city and the countryside, with a breakdown by classes and social groups); the actual, desired and planned values.
10. The scope of subscription to newspapers and journals (separately); the number of titles a year per family, including with a breakdown by the city and the countryside; the actual, desired and planned values.

11. The satisfaction of the population with the content of the activity of cultural institutions (percent of those satisfied or dissatisfied, including in the city and the countryside, with a breakdown by classes and social groups).

12. The degree of satisfaction of the cultural needs of the population, including with a breakdown by individual types of cultural institutions (the percentage ratio of the actual value to the desired value) separately according to the indicators of the attendance of cultural institutions, the expenditures of time and the expenditures of monetary assets of the population.

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FACTS, COMMENTS, NOTES (FROM THE WORKTABLE OF THE SOCIOLOGIST)

SOCIAL FACTORS OF THE INCREASE OF PRODUCT QUALITY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 134-136

[Article by Nikolay Gavrilovich Bindyuk, senior instructor of the Chair of Philosophy of the Novogorod State Pedagogical Institute: "Social Factors of the Increase of Product Quality"]

[Text] The factors governing product quality can be divided into objective factors (technical, managerial, social) and subjective or personal factors (the attitude of a person toward labor and its results). Moreover, in the former case the production technology and the working and living conditions influence the increase of the efficiency of work not directly, but indirectly--through the qualities of the individual as a worker, which also makes it possible to regard them as social production qualities.

In 1981 we conducted a sociological study at the Novogorod Electronic Plant.¹ The study pursued the goal to identify the objective and subjective factors which determine the high quality of products. The obtained results attest: the factors are appraised ambiguously by the respondents (see Table 1). Moreover, at the level of the workplace the demandingness on the organization and conditions of labor increases. The specification by those surveyed of the reasons which directly hinder productive labor attests to this: the irregular supply with materials and components (40 percent), insufficiently good working conditions (35 percent), defective equipment (34 percent), inattentiveness of the administration (28 percent), the low quality of raw materials and components (26 percent).

1. In all 430 workers of the leading specialties were surveyed. The sample is representative for the enterprise. In recent years purposeful work on the development of a comprehensive system of the control of the quality of items has been performed at the studied enterprise, the main product of which is picture tubes. In particular, the achievements of science and technology and new standards are being systematically introduced, steps are being taken on the increase of the skills of the personnel, the tightening up of discipline and the increase of the moral and material interest of the workers in the output of high quality products. At the time of the study the output of products with the State Seal of Quality came to 65 percent.

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Table 1

Breakdown of the Responses to the Question "What, in Your Opinion, Hinders Most of All the Output of High Quality Items?"

Elements of the production situation	percent of respondents
Shortcomings in the organization of labor (defects in equipment, the lack of tools and raw materials, crash work, idle times, overtime).	44
Managers' lack of the proper concern about the improvement of the working and living conditions of the workers	20
Inadequate personal responsibility of the workers for the affairs of the collective.	18
Low level of production technology	10
Lax demandingness of managers on careless workers.	4
Inattention of the administration to critical remarks and suggestions.	4

The factors, the effect of which the enterprise can regulate only in part, also have a substantial influence on the results of labor. It is a question of the operation of personal and municipal services, trade institutions, the public dining system and transportation and of the organization of the relaxation of the workers. Thus, to the question: "Are there factors outside of production, which hinder you from working with total efficiency?", 49.4 percent of the respondents answered affirmatively, 50 percent answered negatively. In the former group 31 percent of the workers intend in the next 5 years to transfer to another enterprise, while in the latter group only 17 percent are workers of this type. In the former group there are more violators of labor discipline than in the latter (12 and 7 percent respectively). When faced with cases of careless labor and the output of low quality items, in the former group 55 percent of the respondents strive for the elimination of such shortcomings, in the latter group 63 percent of the workers display active-ness. Thus, the problems arising for workers in the social sphere adversely affect the entire production situation. Table 2 gives an idea of the most important reasons in this respect.

The distinguished production and nonproduction factors of the increase of product quality are expressed in the attitude of a person toward the quality of items. It has a complex structure, which includes various components—from the prevalent stereotypes, which concern the preferred forms of labor behavior, to the conscious need to strive for high product quality. As a whole this phenomenon is formed by: the understanding by the worker of the importance of the output of high quality products; the evaluation of the efforts (one's own and of one's comrades) on the assurance of the latter; the practical readiness to produce high quality items. Of course, the proportion of the products turned over to the technical control division on first presentation, the frequency of cases of defective output and so on are the basic criterion which determines the nature of the attitude of the individual toward the quality of items.

When investigating the reasons for the output of high quality products, we asked the question: "What prompts you and your comrades to work with a high quality?" The following responses were received: material interest (40 percent), the habit of working conscientiously (36 percent), work honor (28 percent), responsibility to

the collective (19 percent), the desire to benefit the collective and society (13 percent), the importance of the products being produced for the national economy (12 percent), satisfaction from work (10 percent), the aspiration to be considered an expert, a specialist of one's occupation (9 percent), the fear of punishment (4 percent), the desire to win prestige (2 percent).

Table 2

Breakdown of the Responses to the Question "What Extra-Production Reasons Hinder You From Working With Complete Efficiency?"

Reasons	percent of respondents*
Poor housing conditions.	57
Shortcomings in the operation of trade institutions and public dining enterprises	42
Shortcomings in the operation of preschool institutions and schools.	17
Poor operation of public transportation.	16
Large expenditures of time on the cleaning of the apartment, the care of children, work on the dacha plot and so forth.	11
Shortcomings in the operation of personal services	10

* The respondent could mark several items.

Today when solving both production and educational problems the entire set of reasons for the increase of product quality for the present is being poorly taken into account. Although the decisive word remains here with material interest, an important role, undoubtedly, belongs to the factors of the consciousness and responsibility of the worker. This especially concerns the group of workers with a high level of skills and wages. For them, according to the data of the study, one of the main stimuli for productive labor is the need for self-affirmation and the realization of their creative potentials. However, 85 percent of those surveyed try to produce more products, of better quality and with fewer expenditures; 10 percent devote the main attention to the quantity, and not always the quality; 5 percent believe that the main thing is to fulfill the plan, quality is a secondary matter.

The study showed that the social reserves of the increase of product quality are realized first of all through the attitude of the worker toward the end result of his own activity. It is formed under the influence of the socio-occupational, managerial and sociopsychological factors which have formed at the given enterprise. At the same time, while being a component of the overall standards of labor of the worker, the attitude in question to a certain extent is independent of the production situation. As practical experience has shown, the change of only the technical and technological factors and the increase of material interest, which is envisaged by the quality control system in operation at the enterprises, do not always yield the desired effect, that is, the mass output of high quality products. The comprehensive control system and the plan of socioeconomic development should be oriented more toward the formation of high standards of labor, first of all the increase of the responsibility of the workers of all ranks for the observance of planning, technological and labor discipline.

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EVALUATION BY WORKING WOMEN OF THE ACTIVITY OF THEIR IMMEDIATE SUPERVISOR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 136-139

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences German Vladimirovich Morozov, chief of the Laboratory of the Socioeconomic Problems of Labor of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Labor Protection of the AUCCTU, and Valentina Nikolayevna Pushina, junior scientific associate of the Laboratory of the Socioeconomic Problems of Labor of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Labor Protection of the AUCCTU: "The Evaluation by Working Women of the Activity of the Immediate Supervisor"]

[Text] The nature of the interrelations between the manager of the primary collective and his subordinates has an exceptionally great influence on the production situation. The peculiarities of this influence were studied by us by sociological methods.¹

The study showed: the evaluation of the activity of a supervisor is closely connected with the evaluation of other aspects of the vital activity of the collective. Thus, among the respondents, who are discontent with the foreman, the brigade leader and so on, from 20 to 50 percent of those surveyed (depending on the sector of industry) characterized positively the relations in the collective. In all 30.3 percent of the working women of one of the textile enterprises named as the reason for their dismissal conflict with the foreman. The production situation is different in the collectives, in which good relations between the manager and his subordinates have formed. Here, for example, there are 19-25 percent more people who are satisfied with labor.

1. The study was conducted in 1979-1980 by the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Labor Protection of the AUCCTU (with the participation of the authors) in several large cities of the European part of the country. Workers and managers of the primary labor collectives of 13 enterprises of 3 sectors of production: the textile, electric cable and timepiece sectors, were covered by sample surveying. In all 4,638 people were surveyed. Owing to the specific nature of production, women predominate among the respondents.

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The influence of the manager on the interrelations in the collective and on the production situation as a whole depends on both his practical and personal qualities. In order to determine, on which of the traits of production leaders the working women make the greatest demands and to what extent the required qualities are developed in the manager, the respondents were asked the question: "What assists the manager of your collective in organizing the work efficiently and properly?" In all 49.7 percent put in first place the group of qualities connected with his occupational competence: experience (20.6 percent of the surveyed people of this group), the ability to plan and organize work (20 percent), the ability to defend the interests of the brigade (17.9 percent), the ability to maintain labor discipline (17.7 percent), demandingness (13.2 percent). Slightly higher (50.3 percent) is the proportion of people who indicated that first of all the features of the personality of the manager, particularly the ability to find contact with the workers (27.3 percent), industry (19 percent), impartiality (17.1 percent), self-discipline (12.5 percent) and attention to the needs of people (9.5 percent), contribute to the efficient organization of work. Among the circumstances, which hinder the manager in his official activity, 63.7 percent of those surveyed once again noted personal qualities: inattention to the needs of people (22.4 percent), the inability to establish good interrelations with the workers (18.5 percent), partiality (18.3 percent) and indiscretion (12.6 percent).

The obtained data make it possible to conjecture that the occupational qualities of the manager receive recognition namely against the background of the high appraisal of his human qualities. This objective law is manifested especially vividly in the female production collective. The materials concerning the importance for the respondents of the practical and personal qualities of the manager also confirm what has been said. The former of them was most important on the average for 30 percent of the surveyed working women of textile enterprises, the latter--for 60 percent. On this level the following data are also revealing: the number of conflicts of working women with the foreman or the brigade leader is 2.2-fold greater than the number of clashes between the members of the collective. Moreover, the conflicts stemming from the personal qualities of the supervisor arise twofold more often than the conflicts due to occupational qualities.

Of course, the fact that in the female production collective the personal qualities of the parties constitute the basis of the interrelations "supervisor--subordinate," does not give grounds to infer a decrease under present conditions of the demands on specialized knowledge. In our opinion, the situation is exactly the opposite: given the relatively satisfactory state in the engineering and technical training of managers, their training in the area of management psychology remains at an elementary level. Let us turn in this connection, first, to the results of the study, which concern the notions of the manager concerning the goals and tasks of managerial activity and the qualities he needs in work, and, second, to the evaluations of these qualities by the members of the collective (below data are cited only for the enterprises of the timepiece and electric cable industries).

In all 65.3 percent of the foremen indicated the need for the development of practical qualities, among working women 35.2 percent gave such a response, the others (both foremen and working women) stressed the need for the development of personal qualities. According to the materials of the study, the attention of managers is concentrated for the most part on supporting technically and technologically the fulfillment of the production assignments. Individual work with the members of the

collective, assistance to them in mastering advanced labor methods, assistance in the increase of skills, technical competence and the overall level of culture, the increase of one's own skills and ideological and political level--all this is grouped by the foremen with secondary questions. Meanwhile many working women expressed dissatisfaction with precisely such an aspect of the activity of the manager. And it is not by chance that in those collectives, in which the manager is primarily oriented toward the accomplishment of exclusively technical tasks, the lowest evaluation by the working women of interpersonal relations is observed and many conflicts and difficulties in the fulfillment of the plan arise. In the shops, in which the foreman considers it necessary to investigate thoroughly all aspects of the life of the collective, high evaluations of the interrelations are noted, the number of conflicts is minimal and the mutual assistance of the members of the collective is strong.

As a whole the study made it possible to distinguish three types of relations-aims between the manager and the collective: 1) a considerable difference of the evaluation by working women of the qualities of the foreman and brigade leader and his self-evaluation is responsible for the mutual negative aim of the manager and the collective; 2) the primary coincidence of the evaluations by working women of the qualities of the foreman and his own evaluation attests to a mutual positive aim of the foreman and the collective; 3) the more critical approach of the foreman, than that of the working women, to his own qualities creates the prerequisites for the most positive aim of the collective toward the foreman and of the foreman toward the collective.

Let us examine the specific effect of the aim of the manager on the production situation on the basis of the example of one of the textile factories of Ivanovo. Here 45 assistant foremen, which made up 10 percent of the general population, were surveyed. The managers of those sections, the collectives of which in the past 10 months either had considerably exceeded or had fallen substantially short in the fulfillment of the plan, were chosen for interviews. A portion of the assistant foremen consider as their basic function the adjustment of machine tools and the "obtaining" of spare parts. These managers, as a rule, do not have time left for educational work in the collective and contacts with the working women on personal matters. In the opinion of the respondents, the main problem of the enterprise is the increased turnover of personnel. The latter stems from losses in wages due to idle times of the equipment, and they, in turn, are due to a shortage of spare parts. Another group of assistant foremen, in spite of similar difficulties, advance as the most important task concrete assistance to the working women in the adjustment of equipment and the elimination of losses of labor productivity in some operations or others.

The least satisfaction of the members of the collective, first, with the relations with the manager and, second, with labor was established in the brigades, in which the assistant foremen engage only in the technological production support of the labor process. And not without reason is the potential turnover here 1.2-fold greater than the average turnover for the enterprise. The working women of such sections frequently lodge against the assistant foremen the complaints that they are unfair to the workers (8.3 percent), do not take into account the opinion of the collective (7.3 percent), do not know how to establish good interrelations with people (7.2 percent), are not able to plan and organize work efficiently (5.2 percent) and poorly maintain labor discipline (4.2 percent). All this leads to

serious conflicts in the collectives, the following are named as their basis causes: the improper distribution of the production assignments--26.1 percent, the impossibility of "working in harmony" with the other members of the collective--16.5 percent.

Thus, a formal approach of the assistant foreman to the duties of an educator of the members of the collective adversely affects the relations between people and makes the activity of the manager himself considerably more difficult. All this in the end adversely affects labor productivity. The latter in the collectives, in which a strained psychological atmosphere exists, is 19.2 percent lower than in the sections, in which the assistant foremen, in addition to production work, devote considerable attention to educational work. Here, moreover, not a single instance of violations of labor discipline and dismissals was recorded here during the year.

The study makes it possible to formulate a number of practical recommendations on the improvement of the training of the managers of primary production collectives. Today, as a whole, specialists with a higher or secondary education are filling the positions of foremen and assistant foremen. However, at the majority of higher educational institutions, tekhnikums and schools of foremen courses on the management of production collectives, as well as on social psychology are not being given. The introduction of such courses is an urgent necessity. The stated suggestions should be supplemented by the appropriate measures at the level of the enterprise. Measures, which would increase the responsibility of the managerial personnel for the moral climate in the collective and the maximum utilization of the sociopsychological factors of the increase of production efficiency, should be envisaged in the plans of the social development of labor collectives.

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OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

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[Article by Lyubov' Ivanovna Popovich, staff member of the Laboratory of the Problems of Management and Planning of Lvov State University: "Factors of the Occupational Mobility of Industrial Workers"]

[Text] The intensity of occupational mobility depends on a number of both objective and subjective factors. In this article we will examine on the basis of the materials of an empirical study¹ the influence on occupational mobility of the personal characteristics of workers (sex, education, length of service and so on).

The analysis of the gathered data showed the following. Women are distinguished by greater occupational mobility as compared with men. In the former case the coefficient of occupational mobility² is equal to 69.4 percent, in the latter--49.2 percent (that is, five-sixths as great). Accordingly the indicator, which characterizes the average number of instances of a change of occupations during the period of labor activity, for women came to 1.6 and for men--1.5.

The intensity of occupational mobility decreases with an increase of the level of education. Thus, among workers with a education of up to 6 grades the coefficient of occupational mobility had the value of 59.0 percent, in the group of people with an education of 7-8 grades--58.5 percent, among those having a secondary education--46.6 percent. As to the nature of education, it was established: training under resident conditions leads to a decrease of mobility. Thus, in the group with a specialized vocational education the coefficient of occupational mobility came to

1. The study was conducted by the author in 1980 at several machine building enterprises of Lvov. In all 2,632 workers were surveyed. Among those surveyed 73.8 percent are men and 26.2 percent are women. The sample is nonreplicate. In addition to a questionnaire the labor books and plant documents were used as a source of information.
2. The coefficient of occupational mobility is calculated as the ratio (in percent) of the number of workers who changed occupation to the total number of people who make up the group.

L. I. Popovich is publishing a work in our journal for the first time.

43.0 percent, while without it--55.1 percent. The correlation of the indicators of the average number of changes of occupations with respect to the distinguished groups also confirms this relationship; the indicators are equal to 1.3 and 1.5

Let us examine the interrelationship of the intensity of occupational mobility and the length of service. The dependence here is inversely proportional: the longer the length of service is, the lower the intensity is. It is the maximum (the coefficient of occupational mobility equals 78.0 percent) in the group of workers with a length of service in a single occupation of 2-4 years. Then, as the length of service increases, the value of the coefficient decreases: with a length of service of 4-6 years--to ten-thirteenth, 6-8 years--to ten-seventeenths, while with a length of service of more than 10 years--to nearly one-third. The length of service influences occupational mobility not only directly, but also indirectly--through skills (the category). With an increase of the latter the number of instances of a change of occupation decreases. For example, in the group of workers of category I the coefficient of occupational mobility is equal to 56.2 percent, while among people with category III it already amounts to 17.1 percent, with category IV--13.8 percent.

The effect of the distinguished factors in many ways depends on the production situation, in which the worker is. This is confirmed by the analysis of the dynamics of the coefficient of mobility for different enterprises. However, it was not possible to establish an unequivocal dependence between the characteristics of the production situation and the role in mobility of some factors or others. It is possible to say with certainty only the following: the influence of the factors of overall education and sex on the change of occupation by a worker virtually does not vary with a change of the production situation. This, it would seem, gives grounds to consider these factors as the most effective regulators of occupational mobility. At the same time it is clear that it is practically impossible to control them (in any case when it is a question of occupational mobility). Obviously, the "regulatory impact" of the factors in question should be obtained through the influence of other variables, for example, skills advancement.

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AMATEUR ARTISTIC WORK IN CHELYABINSK OBLAST

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 140-143

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Samoylovich Tsukerman, docent of the Ural State University: "On the Development of Amateur Artistic Creative Work (According to the Materials of a Survey in Chelyabinsk Oblast)"; V. S. Tsukerman is a specialist in the social problems of artistic culture and the author of a number of works, particularly the monograph "Muzyka i slushatel'" [Music and the Listener] (1970). He is publishing a work in our journal for the first time.]

[Not translated by JPRS]

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

NON-GAUSSIAN NATURE OF SOCIAL PHENOMENA

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 141-152

[Article by S. D. Haitun: "The Non-Gaussian Nature of Social Phenomena"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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PORTABLE RECORDER OF SOCIOLOGICAL INFORMATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 153-155

[Article by Candidate of Technical Sciences Leonid Grigor'yevich Novikov, head of the Chair of Electronics and Computer Engineering of the Sverdlovsk Department of the Moscow Institute of Engineering Physics, Valeriy Petrovich Stanilevich, head of a group for psychophysiological and sociological research of the Sverdlovsk Department of the Moscow Institute of Engineering Physics, and Yuriy Vasil'yevich Fedotov, senior engineer of the Sverdlovsk Department of the Moscow Institute of Engineering Physics: "A Portable Device for the Gathering and Primary Processing of Social Information"]

[Text] The research methods now being used--the written questionnaire, the interview, observation and so on--have a sound procedural base and ensure the great reliability of the information. However, the process of preparation, and then the study itself are a quite labor-consuming matter. The processing of the results--be it manual processing or machine processing, on a computer--also takes much time. Meanwhile sociologists frequently have to conduct surveys with a small amount of information, which are aimed at the efficient use of data in the practice of management, and here the quickness of the obtaining of the results is one of the main conditions of efficiency. Various means of mechanized inquiry, such as the telephone survey or the gathering of mass information by means of special electrical devices, have been used in recent times for shortening the time of a study [1]. Indeed, so far the sphere of use of such equipment is very limited, especially when it is necessary to survey quickly and with a high quality people who are dispersed over a great distance. Recording devices are being installed in certain places, when information is fed into them centrally. If such a mechanized survey is conducted in a labor collective, it is necessary to tear people away from their work for a considerable amount of time. Moreover, the conducting of an interview outside the workplace to a certain extent decreases the representativeness of the data.

It is possible to increase considerably the efficiency of the gathering of information in the case of mechanized surveys and to reduce the losses of working time by using special portable devices. Here the latter should have a large-capacity computer memory and should not only record quite thoroughly the opinion of those

L. G. Novikov, V. P. Stanilevich and Yu. V. Fedotov are being published in our journal for the first time.

being surveyed, but also carry out the primary processing of the gathered information. The weight of such a device should not, in our opinion, exceed 6-8 kg.

Intensive work on the development of portable devices is being carried out in Sverdlovsk. Test models are already being used successfully in the conducting of sociological and sociopsychological studies. The small dimensions and the peculiarities of the design make it possible to survey respondents promptly directly at their workplaces. This has a positive effect on the quality of the information: being in his customary environment and being clearly convinced that the stated opinion immediately "enters" the microcomputer and, consequently, the anonymity of the response is maintained, a person, as a rule, responds more sincerely to the questions being posed. Of course, the possibilities of the recently developed prototypes for the present are still limited. First, the device can process only a small number of questions. An increase of their number is impossible without a substantial increase of the weight and dimensions of the device. Second, the models now available only evaluate (on a scale) the obtained response or select from ready-made versions the response which corresponds to the opinion of the respondents.

Portable devices are being constantly improved. The SR-4 (sociological recorder) (see the photograph [Photo not reproduced]) has been used in studies since 1981. It differs substantially from its predecessors. First, an Elektronika BZ-21 microcalculator is used here for the primary processing and storage of the information, which increases considerably, as compared with the preceding devices, the number of operations and the amount of "stored" information. Second, the device is equipped with a tape winder, which automatically presents for reading the questions of the questionnaire. Finally, the device has a relatively small weight (only 3.5 kg) and small dimensions (335 X 245 X 90 mm). The SR-4 is convenient to use. Buttons for feeding in the information, a peephole for the presentation of the questions and instructions on the operation of the device are located on the upper panel of the device. After receiving a response from the respondent, to feed in the information it is necessary to push the appropriate button; in this case the tape winder is automatically turned on and the next question is presented in the peephole. Let us note another circumstance. It is easy to assemble the device under the conditions of an industrial enterprise. The expenditures on production are small. The most important unit in the device is the series-produced Elektronika BZ-21 microcalculator. The device can operate on a direct current supply line with a voltage of 220 V or on batteries.

A few words on the research possibilities of the device. The device records the number of people who have responded, adds up the evaluation scores and calculates the average score for each question. The gathering and processing of the information are ensured by inserting in the microcalculator special programs with the use of its recording and stack memory. The final indicators are retrieved from the memory of the microcomputer without changing the inserted programs [2].

Programs developed by the authors, which are designed for the presentation of 13 questions, are being used in the device.¹ The program provides for the evaluation

1. At present the use in the device (without any modification) of the Elektronika BZ-34 microcalculator, which makes it possible to ask and process up to 20 questions, as well as to take into account the general sociodemographic data of those being surveyed, is being checked experimentally.

of the qualities and properties of objects according to the scale "poor--uncertain--good," which includes nine items. The use of a five-point scale, like the one used most often in mass and rapid surveys: 1 point--very poor, the quality (property) is absent; 2 points--poor, the quality (property) appears weakly; 3 points--I find it hard to answer definitely, the quality (property) appears both not strongly and not weakly; 4 points--good, the quality (property) appears distinctly; 5 points--excellent, a high degree of manifestation of the quality (property), is also envisaged.

On the device it is possible to program and to feed into the computer memory the questions of any small questionnaire. This makes it possible not to spend in addition time and material resources on the performance of such procedures as the duplication, distribution, filling out, collection and processing of the questionnaires.

The range of use of the device is very broad. It makes it possible to study rapidly the stability of labor collectives, the sociopsychological climate, the practical, moral and political qualities of managers and so forth. The device can be used in combination with other research techniques.

The practical experience of using the SR-4 attests that such devices facilitate considerably the gathering and primary mathematical processing of social information. The further improvement of portable devices and the carrying out of the series production of such equipment will make them an effective work tool of the plant sociologist.

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SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS SOCIETY

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF VOTING IN THE U.S. CONGRESS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 156-166

[Article by Georgiy Aleksandrovich Satarov, senior scientific associate of the Problem Laboratory of Socioeconomic Research in the Area of Public Education of the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute imeni V. I. Lenin, and Sergey Borisovich Stankevich, graduate student of the Institute of General History of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Voting in the U.S. Congress: An Attempt at a Multivariate Analysis"; G. A. Satarov is a specialist in the use of mathematical methods in the social sciences. He is being published in our journal for the first time. S. B. Stankevich is the author of a number of articles on the American Senate. He has not previously published a work in our journal.]

[Not translated by JPRS]

LEISURE ACTIVITY IN JAPAN

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 166-169

[Article by Tat'yana Sergeyevna Dubrovskaya, graduate student of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Structure and Content of Leisure (According to the Materials of Studies of Japanese Sociologists)"; T. S. Dubrovskaya specializes in the area of the socioeconomic problems of Japan. She is publishing a work in our journal for the first time.]

[Not translated by JPRS]

CRITICISM OF CONTEMPORARY BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY

SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 170-179

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Boris Gur'yevich Kapustin, assistant lecturer of the University of Friendship of Peoples imeni Patrice Lumumba: "New Trends in the 'Sociology of Development'"; B. G. Kapustin is a specialist in the area of the sociology of developing countries. He is publishing a work in our journal for the first time.]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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RESULTS, PLANS, INTENTIONS

THOUGHTS OF V. S. GOTT ON LIFE AS A SCIENTIST

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) p 180

[Interview with Doctor of Philosophical Sciences and Candidate of Physical Mathematical Sciences Professor Vladimir Spiridonovich Gott, Honored Figure of Science of the RSFSR, editor in chief of the journal FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI and head of the Chair of Philosophy of the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute imeni V. I. Lenin, by a SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA correspondent: "Years Devoted to Science (An Interview With Professor V. S. Gott)"]

[Text] Doctor of Philosophical Sciences and Candidate of Physical Mathematical Sciences Professor Vladimir Spiridonovich Gott, Honored Figure of Science of the RSFSR, editor in chief of the journal FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI and head of the Chair of Philosophy of the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute imeni V. I. Lenin, has celebrated his 70th birthday. Our correspondent met with the hero of the day and asked him to respond to the questions of the editorial board of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA.

[Question] You have behind you a long life of labor, in which scientific and organizing work are closely interconnected. Has one hindered the other? How did your scientific interests form?

[Answer] I began by life of labor at the age of 15 as an apprentice to an electrical fitter, then I worked on the railroad. Already at that time both the phenomena of nature and social life attracted my attention. I attempted to find answers to arising questions in books--on physics, astronomy, biology, philosophy and history. At about the age of 18, after reading "Materializm i empiriokrititsizm" [Materialism and Empirio-Criticism] by V. I. Lenin, I understood that physics and scientific philosophy are in close unity. Since that time the study of the natural sciences, especially physics and philosophy, and later scientific activity in these fields became for me a vocation, an interconnected process.

Many years later I became acquainted with the statement of the outstanding French physicist Paul (Langeven), who said: "In the great communist teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin I found an explanation of those questions of my own science, which I would have never understood without this doctrine." At that time I was working at the Ukrainian Physico-Technical Institute and at every step I became convinced of the correctness of these words.

[Question] Among your publications there are works which in their themes go beyond the framework of the philosophical questions of natural science and the theory of knowledge, for example, the monograph "Dva mira--dve morali" [Two Worlds--Two Morals], booklets and articles on patriotic education, internationalism and the national pride of the Soviet people. Is this by chance or were there reasons which were responsible for the shift of your attention to social science problems?

[Answer] While working at the scientific research institute, I actively participated in Komsomol life: I was the secretary of the primary organization, a member of the bureau, the first secretary of the rayon Komsomol committee. In 1938 I was elected secretary of the Kharkov Oblast Komsomol Committee. For some time I was able to combine the experimental work of a physicist with public activity, but in 1941, after graduating from the Higher Party School attached to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), I transferred to a party job and held it for nearly 20 years. It is natural that my scientific interests also shifted to the sphere of social science, communist education and the ideological struggle.

[Question] A traditional question: What are your creative plans?

[Answer] In early 1984 the monograph "Kategorii sovremennoy nauki" [The Categories of Modern Science], which was written in collaboration with E. Semenyuk and A. Ursul, should be published by the Mysl' Publishing House; another work--"Filosofskiye voprosy fizicheskogo poznaniya" [Philosophical Questions of Physical Knowledge]--is also being prepared for publication. For many years I have been studying the philosophical aspects of symmetry, proportion and harmony and have gathered material from the field of physics, mathematics, chemistry, biology, literature and art on this problem. I want to write a book, having divided into a special section the questions of symmetry and asymmetry in social development.

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FROM THE EDITORIAL MAIL

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 181-183

[Letters to the editor]

[Text] Letters, in which readers, in responding to our publications, support the point of view of the author of one article or another or, on the contrary, argue with him, make the position of the scientist more precise and suggest their own interpretation of the empirical data cited in the article, quite often come to the editorial office of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. As a rule, the opinions of the readers are of indisputable public interest. The editorial board intends to make permanent the dialogue between the most active authors of the journal and the readers. For this purpose the new heading "From the Editorial Mail" is being introduced.

Dear editorial board: In the articles being published on the pages of your journal, which concern the work of sociological services, a very urgent theme is raised: What are the goals, tasks and functions, as well as what should the organizational and scientific support of social control be like, especially under the conditions of the production collective? Now no one objects any more to the special regulation of social processes. In practice, however, in spite of the universal dissemination of social planning, social control often acts as a "makeweight" for economic and technical control. The three mentioned components of planning, in my opinion, are far from always properly coordinated with each other. Therefore the idea, which was expressed by V. V. Chichilimov in the article "The Plant Sociologist in the System of the Management of the Collective" (No 4, 1982), that social goals should be set for entire blocks of control, since any innovation, be it even a technical one, has social consequences, is very productive. The sociological service cannot influence the social development of the collective, without using the factors and conditions, which arise in the technical, economic, legal and ideological spheres.

Chichilimov sees one of the main tasks of the sociological service in the improvement of the social organization of the enterprise and in the creation at the factory of the prerequisites for the implementation of the social policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. This, undoubtedly, is correct with the sole specification that the solution of social problems--starting with favorable working conditions

and ending with everyday problems at the place of residence--should, it seems to me, be subordinate to the assurance of the output of high quality products and to the dynamic development of production. This is, after all, the main goal of production collectives as a social unit of society. In practice the achievement of the indicators, which have been included in the plan of social development, frequently acquires a self-sufficing nature. For example, the placement into operation of a plant house of culture is regarded by the management of the enterprise as a fact which attests to a high level of social development of the collective. In reality such a measure at times proves to be inefficient both economically and socially and does not ensure the proper increase of the overall culture of the workers.

The exact opposite point of view is expressed in the article of V. N. Sobko, "On the Place of the Sociologist at an Industrial Enterprise" (No 3, 1982). The sociological function as such, the author believes, "consists in elaborating more and more perfect methods of implementing managerial decisions." It is hardly possible to agree that the sociological service should study primarily the problems of management, be it even its social aspects. Assume that the administration has made the decision to build showers for the workers. What in this case should the sociologist engage in? In the construction? Certainly not. But he is obligated to ascertain what the reasons of the turnover of personnel are. And if it turns out that such reasons lie in the working conditions, it is necessary to recommend to the administration that it improve the everyday conveniences in the shops. This is where the sociologist is called upon to express his own opinion, which is supported by specific computations.

In this connection I would like for production leaders to appear on the pages of the journal and to express their opinion: How do they see the sociological service, what do they expect from it?

In the activity of the sociological services there is another limitation, to which the authors of the publications in your journal, unfortunately, direct too little attention. Many questions of the functioning of the social organization of an enterprise cannot be successfully settled without the improvement of the economic mechanism and the objective conditions of the activity of the enterprise. These questions, as a rule, go beyond the competence of the administration. For example, the elements of leveling (the limitation of the amounts of bonuses, the overstatement of the amount of performed work in order to derive the "average" wage and so on), which exist in the wage system, not only decrease labor productivity, but also adversely affect the sociopsychological climate in the collective and check the increase of the social activeness of the workers. The last two questions are a topic of "concern" of sociologists. However, when settling them, owing to objective circumstances it is impossible to utilize completely the reserves of social control. Apparently, the organizational problems of the activity of sociological services should be solved by no means by choosing between the two alternatives: either the enterprise should "mature" to the level of the sociologist (which V. A. Skripov indicates in the article "The Sociological Service in the Organizational Structure of the Enterprise" [No 2, 1982]) or the sociologist should "come up" to the real problems of production (which Sobko insists on). Both the further development of the concept of the sociological service and the rearrangement of the organizational structures of the enterprise and of the principles, as well as the conditions of management activity are necessary.

It is impossible in this case to agree with Sobko that the main problem here is the increase of sociological culture, especially that of managers. The director is not a sociologist, not an economist and not an engineer. He is first of all an administrator and should have first of all a high administrative culture, which consists, in particular, in the ability to "link up" for decision making engineering, economic, legal, sociological and other knowledge. Let us note by the way: social problems are not the only and probably not the main object of the director's concerns.

As for the sociologist, he, like any other representative of the administrative staff, must be first of all a specialist of his occupation. But in addition initiative, enterprise, civic responsibility--in short, all the qualities which distinguish the modern style of management and the modern businessman--should be inherent in the sociologist. Precisely such a "fusion" of personal qualities will enable the sociologist to find his place in the structure of the enterprise and to make a significant contribution to the solution of the problems facing the production collective.

I hope that the opinions and desires stated here will be useful to the editorial board in its further work on the coverage of an important and urgent theme--the activity of the sociological services of enterprises and organizations.

Lytkarino, Moscow Oblast

L. G. Kozlov, engineer

An obviously oversimplified approach to the analysis of distributive relations is encountered at times in the literature. Thus, V. Z. Rogovin in the article "Distributive Relations as a Factor of the Intensification of Production" (No 1, 1982) makes an attempt to study how "the contradictions between the two basic functions of socialist distribution--the effective stimulation of the labor activeness of citizens in social production and the convergence of the standards of living of all social groups, strata and citizens--are resolved." From the article it is evident that Rogovin assigns to the basic functions of socialist distribution, which is aimed at the intensification of production, only those functions which are connected with the distribution of the wage funds of citizens and public consumption funds, that is, with the distribution not of the entire national product, which is being newly created, but only that portion of it, which is being allocated for consumption. It seems that such an aim of the author is methodologically illegitimate and sidetracks economists and sociologists from the real problems of the improvement of distributive relations. Among the mentioned problems, in our opinion, are the following. First, the distribution of the national product, which is being newly created, between production (for the purpose of the expanded reproduction of the latter) and consumption (for the purpose of accomplishing the basic tasks of building communism); second, the use in a planned manner of a portion of the national product for the stimulation of advanced forms of the public sector (the agro-industrial complex, for example), as well as the utmost development of private plots and the means of their interconnection with social production (for the purpose of not only increasing the gross product, but also improving socialist social relations in the countryside).

Rogovin does not pose and does not examine these problems. But precisely they, in our opinion, are the key ones. For if the matter is reduced to the study of only the distribution of the wage funds and public consumption funds, the danger of replacing a scientific analysis with the examination of the problem from a consumerist-dependant standpoint arises.

I would also like to note that the author studies in his article only the distributive relations which form in the public sector. This implies the rejection of the orientation toward the study of distributive relations with allowance made for the place and role of the participants of social production in the economy of the family. Meanwhile, the most contradictory forms of distributive relations, including those which influence the behavior of a person in social production and his attitude toward labor, at times form precisely at this level.

Rogovin believes that the transfer of all funds to the control of the local soviets makes it possible "to ensure the effective implementation of the comprehensive programs of the social development of the territorial administrative community." But is this so? In any case strict calculations of the economic and social efficiency are required here. If the extension of departmental privileges to all the enterprises of a zone yields an appreciable increase on the average for the region, in the opinion of the author it is also necessary, after all, to redistribute it among the other regions of the country. But then the increase will be negligible and owing to this will not provide the stimulation of the comprehensive programs, which Rogovin anticipates, while the measures on the stimulation of the programs of the enterprises, which are of especially great importance for the national economy of the country, will be completely cut back.

It is necessary to eliminate departmental preferences. And, apparently, that level of the material and technical might of the country, when the need for the preferential use of funds by individual sectors and enterprises fades away by itself, will be the decisive condition of this.

Moscow

A. V. Rusakov

Dear comrades: The article of V. M. Yakushev, "Distribution According to Labor: The Interrelationship of the Economic Mechanism and Competition," was published in issue No 3 of your journal for 1982. The importance of the article, it seems to me, goes beyond the problem specified in the title. For the shortcomings in the system of distribution and the stimulation of labor adversely affect not only the economy, but also the psychology of people. Errors in the methods of management under specific conditions can be the cause of the spread of forms of antisocial, including illegal, behavior: dependant and consumerist sentiments, "conspicuous consumption," speculation, petty thefts and so on.

The practical implementation of the suggestion made by Yakushev in combination with other measures, particularly the introduction of a more flexible pricing system will create firm objective prerequisites for the considerable increase of the efficiency and quality of work and of labor discipline, the strengthening of the sociopsychological bases of the socialist way of life, will become a reliable obstacle to unearned income and will promote the consistent implementation of one of the basic principles of socialism, "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor."

Kerch

V. M. Gladkiy

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SCIENTIFIC LIFE

EFFICIENCY OF THE AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 184-186

[Article by I. N. Sal'nikova: "The Reserves of the Increase of the Efficiency of the Agro-Industrial Complex"]

[Text] An applied science conference, which was devoted to the social reserves of the increase of the efficiency of the agro-industrial complex in light of the decisions of the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, was held in Kishinev. Not only Moldavian scientists and experienced workers, but also social scientists of the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moscow, Orel, Krasnodar, Perm and other republics and cities of the country took part in the work of the conference. About 90 papers and reports of sociologists, philosophers, economists, lawyers, historians, social psychologists, demographers, as well as party, economic and soviet executives, which reflects the interdisciplinary nature of the problem being discussed, were heard and discussed.

The prospects of the development of the agro-industrial complex of the republic, which is the basis of the implementation of the Food Program, were analyzed in the report of Moldavian Minister of Agriculture and Academician of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences and the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin M. F. Lupashku. In Moldavia the agro-industrial complex accounts for about 60 percent of the national product, 57 percent of the fixed capital, 48 percent of the people employed in the sphere of physical production and about 54 percent of the national income. The republic provides a fourth of the wine-making materials produced in the country, more than a third of the tobacco, a significant portion of the fruits and vegetables and more than half of the essential oils. The task of considerably increasing the production of these products is arising. By 1990 the delivery of fruits, vegetables and grapes to the national table should increase by nearly threefold as compared with 1980.

In conformity with the strategy outlined by the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the center of gravity in the accomplishment of these tasks is being shifted to the increase of the return on capital investments and the increase of the intensification of production. Labor productivity at the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the republic during this decade should increase by 1.5-fold, while the production of agricultural products per unit of area should increase by not less than one-third. It is possible to do this only by the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the introduction of its achievements in production. Science is

playing an important role in this. In all 13 scientific production associations, the 8 years of the experience of the operation of which have demonstrated that it is possible to shorten considerably the length of the "research--production" cycle, are in operation in Moldavia.

M. F. Lupashku noted the particular urgency of the problem of an economical attitude toward the land as the main means of production. The Master Plan of the Efficient Use and Protection of Land Resources, which was drawn up and is being adopted with the constant support of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia, encompasses a wide range of questions, including social questions, since much here depends on subjective factors. The speaker directed attention to the need for the closer cooperation of economists and sociologists in the elaboration of the problem of the use of economic and social reserves under the conditions of the changeover of the agro-industrial complex to the intensive path of development.

The importance of the fact that the USSR Food Program ensures the fundamental combination of territorial, sectorial and goal program planning and management and encompasses the interdependence of the key questions of the development of not only the countryside, but also the city, was emphasized in the report of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor V. I. Staroverov, "The Comprehensive Approach to the Use of the Social Reserves of the Collective of the Agro-Industrial Complex." The utmost strengthening of the material and technical base, the speaker noted, is the basis for the further increase of the production efficiency of the agro-industrial complex, but at the same time efficiency depends directly or indirectly on a large set of other factors, especially social factors, which frequently do not require considerable capital investments, but are very effective and produce economic results. The social causes of the poor utilization in agriculture of equipment and material resources and the slow decrease of the proportion of inefficient manual labor were analyzed in the report. Let us note that nearly 40 percent of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR have fewer staff tractor drivers than tractors, the speaker directed attention to the need for a non-traditional approach to the resolution of contradictions of this type. "Most often it should be a question not of the extensive increase of the number of workers, but of the increase of their skills, the improvement of the organization of labor and the inclination for shock labor. But in the technical policy a course not of the increase of the number of machines, of which there are millions in the countryside, but of the improvement of the quality, as well as the organization of the use of these machines, is necessary."

In characterizing the factors of the increase of the efficiency of agricultural production, V. I. Staroverov noted the poor study of their essence and the mechanisms of effect. He stressed that today the foremost duty of social scientists and of sociologists in particular is to lend a systems nature to the study of the social factors of the increase of the production efficiency of the agro-industrial complex. The accomplishment of this task requires the consolidation of the forces of social scientists around the comprehensive programs of the study of social factors and reserves, the introduction of the obtained results in practice and the elaboration of methods of the planning and management of the agro-industrial complex.

The report of Doctor of Economic Sciences A. I. Timush, chairman of the Moldavian Department of the Soviet Sociological Association, was devoted to the improvement of the control of social processes in the production collectives of agro-industrial

formations. The speaker emphasized that at the farms, where production is mechanized or is being rapidly mechanized, 75 percent of the young rural residents up to the age of 30 are satisfied with labor and are oriented toward the increase of their skills, the mastering of three to four related occupations and participation in rationalization.

The implementation of a set of measures on the social transformation of the countryside is a fundamental part of the Food Program. Meanwhile, at some farms the dates of the placement into operation of objects of the social infrastructure are being put off from year to year, which has a negative influence on production efficiency. The optimization of the capital investments in the production and nonproduction spheres is necessary.

In speaking about the most important directions of the development of applied sociological studies in connection with the implementation of the Food Program, A. I. Timush noted the particular urgency of the elaboration of social indices and indicators, which evaluate the conditions of the assurance of the increase of labor productivity. An important aspect of the matter is the determination of the criteria of the quantitative and qualitative evaluation of the meeting of various social, personal and cultural needs of rural residents. The speaker also emphasized the need for the systematic conducting of socioeconomic and sociopsychological studies of the problems of the introduction of advanced forms of the organization, stimulation and increase of the prestige of agricultural labor, the optimization of the migration of the population and the reproduction of manpower resources as a whole.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences G. S. Yentelis devoted his statement to the party supervision of the formation of the spiritual character of the rural worker. The questions of the spiritual growth and moral education of the workers hold a prominent place in the work of the party organization of the republic. Today it is important to study not only the nature of the consumption of spiritual values, but also the inner life of people, their plans and expectations, their appraisals of events and relations in society. The purposeful forms of influencing the individual, the speaker said, are of decisive importance in the process of forming the spiritual character of the worker. And the more thoroughly the interrelationship of these factors is taken into account, the more effective their use is.

The dialectical interrelationship of the social, production economics and technological organizational factors of the formation and development of the agro-industrial complex was analyzed during the discussion in the section "Social Factors of the Increase of the Production Efficiency of the Agro-Industrial Complex" (V. I. Staroverov, head). D. I. Muntyan (Moldavian SSR), having noted the great prospects which are being afforded by interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration for the systematic socioeconomic transformation of the countryside, directed attention to the disproportions which are already being incorporated at the stage of planning due to the inadequate scientific substantiation of the plans. In particular, the speaker examined the lack of coordination of the training of personnel of mass occupations through the system of vocational and technical education with the requirements of the development of such sectors as animal husbandry, sheep raising and viticulture.

In their statements S. M. Dmitrenko and B. D. Tarasov (Kishinev) showed the great importance of the optimal stabilization of production collectives for the increase of the efficiency of the agro-industrial complex. Nearly a third of the surveyed

workers of the enterprises, which process agricultural products, are not satisfied with the smoothness of their labor, a fourth lose daily more than 1 hour of working time due to the poor organization of production. Means of improving the socio-psychological climate in agricultural production collectives were examined by S. M. Dement'yev (Volgograd), L. K. Knyazev (Orel) and A. B. Zolotov (Kishinev). They showed the relationship of conflict in collectives with the imperfection of material stimulation, organizational and technical difficulties and the lack of coordination in economic and ideological educational activity. The speakers stressed that the practice of drawing up and implementing plans of social development has become an effective tool of the improvement of the interrelations in collectives.

In the section "The Trends of Change in the Social Class and Skills Structure of the Agro-Industrial Complex" (Professor S. E. Krapivenskiy, head) attention was directed to the lag of the rate of change of the nature of agricultural labor behind the demands of young people (N. A. Maslovskiy, Ukrainian SSR), which is the basic cause of the outflow of young people to the city, frequently to the detriment of the development of agricultural production.

Having noted that the intensification of concentration and specialization within the agro-industrial complex stimulates the growth of the agrarian detachment of the working class, A. M. Gelyuta (Moscow) and N. V. Tsurkanu (Moldavian SSR) directed attention to the lack of a system and effective forms of the training of the most skilled regular labor force, which affects the development of production.

Questions of the improvement of the planning of the socioeconomic development of production collectives were at the center of attention of the section "Problems of the Control of Social Processes Under the Conditions of the Functioning of the Agro-Industrial Complex" (A. I. Timush, head). The increasing role of the rural rayon, especially after the extensive development of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial intensification, when the center of gravity of production management shifts from the individual farm to the rayon and the rayon center, where the centers for the storage, processing and transportation of products, as well as service (the hospital, the trade center, transportation, personal and cultural services and others) are concentrated, was emphasized in the statements of R. B. Kamayev (Ufa), G. S. Kushmauns (Moldavian SSR), V. I. Gudramovich (Dnepropetrovsk) and A. U. Khomra (Ukrainian SSR). Only the purposeful planning of the economic and social development of all the sphere of life at the level of the rural rayon can provide the conditions for its systematic comprehensive development.

Having substantiated the principle of unity in the planning of the working and free time of production and nonproduction activity, L. D. Afoni and N. M. Morozov (Gorkiy) and V. F. Titov (Moscow) showed that errors in the planning of the social infrastructure of a region have the result that at first seemingly satisfactory production suffers from an excessive turnover of personnel and a decrease of labor discipline. In other words, the objects of social, cultural and personal service under the conditions of the agro-industrial complex act as just as important objects for the economy as the shop, the farm and farm lands.

N. A. Podeba and G. A. Kalkey (Kishinev) and A. V. Benifand (Ufa) noted that highly skilled management is based on the standards of human relations, it promotes the creation of situations which stimulate workers for shock labor. The specific nature itself of modern large-scale integrated agro-industrial production and the

development of productive forces under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution require such a level of management. The transition to this level presumes the unconditional mastery by the production managers of all ranks, as well as by the rank and file workers of the fundamentals of knowledge in pedagogy, psychology, sociology and ethics.

The conference adopted detailed recommendations, which are aimed at the further intensification of the studies of the social reserves of the increase of the efficiency of social production under the conditions of the development of the agro-industrial complex and the implementation of the Food Program.

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SOCIAL PLANNING IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 187-188

[Article by A. I. Kravchenko and S. F. Frolov: "Social Planning in the Socialist Countries"]

[Text] The Problem Commission "The Evolution of the Social Structure of Socialist Society," which operates within the framework of the multilateral international cooperation of the academies of the socialist countries, held in November 1982 a symposium of the task force "Social Planning and Forecasting," which was devoted to social indicators

Well-known Czechoslovak scientist F. Kutta, the chief of the international task force, stated the basic theses of the Marxist theory of social planning. While analyzing the modern trends and directions of social development, he noted that in recent times numerous publications on social indicators--a good methodological basis for further work in this area--are appeared in the socialist countries. At the same time, Kutta emphasized, the system of social statistics and the quality of primary information cannot satisfy scientists.

S. F. Frolov told about the main directions of the elaboration of social indicators in the USSR. While emphasizing the importance of scientific research in this direction for the national economy, he noted that international cooperation in the sphere of social planning is one of the most effective means of strengthening the connection of theory with practice.

S. Donchev (Bulgaria) told about the results of empirical research on the social indicators of the hierarchical relations in the organization, which enabled Bulgarian scientists to establish the degree of independence and competence in decision making by organizations which are at different administrative levels.

Soviet scientists Zh. T. Toshchenko and V. R. Polozov touched upon the problem of the standardized approach to social indicators. Practical experience shows, they emphasized, that the attention to certain questions or others of social planning at the levels of the enterprise or region is frequently dictated not by objective needs, but by the aim of the manager. As a result the conditions for the development of sports are created at one enterprise, the conditions for cultural leisure are created at another. The attention to some spheres and the neglect of others upset the completeness of planning and lead to the inefficient spending of

financial assets. The elaboration of a standardized base for the improvement of the social infrastructure is a reliable means of eliminating such disproportions.

The seminar participants listened with great interest to the report of G. Markus, who told about the peculiarities of the development of social planning in Hungary. At the first stages a considerable number of mistakes were made here both in theory and in practice: social factors were not taken into account, the priority of public interests over group and personal interests was interpreted rigidly. With the introduction in the country of the new economic reform, which increased the independence of enterprises and broadened the opportunities for the participation of the workers in management, social planning entered a qualitatively new phase of development. It became truly social, since it was based on the consideration of the interests of both the different groups of the population and society as a whole. The leveling approach to the problem of social equality was replaced by a differentiated approach, when the inequality of various groups of the population is reduced without detriment to the economic efficiency of social production.

L. Hummel emphasized that the dissemination in the GDR of the Soviet experience of social planning had yielded positive results. The changeover to a new economic structure and the replacement of production associations with combines made it even more obvious that the social development of the labor collective is the most important advantage of socialism and it inevitably leads to an increase of labor productivity. Along with the increase of the skills and consciousness of the workers the improvement of working and living conditions is also envisaged in the plans of social development.

Responding to the desire of the foreign participants in the seminar to familiarize themselves with the practical experience of introducing social plans, A. S. Solop told about the implementation of social indicators by the collective of Voroshilovgrad diesel engine builders. The sociologists here, who were greeted at the first stage of the drafting of the plan with some distrust, were able in practice to prove the economic efficiency of social plans: in the collective the turnover of personnel decreased, the satisfaction with work increased, labor productivity increased.

More than 30 papers and reports were heard at the symposium. The problems facing the participants were worked on not only within the framework of the theoretical discussion of the urgent problems of social indicators and the sharing of experience, but also on a practical level: the collective work "Teoriya i praktika sotsial'nogo planirovaniya i prognozirovaniya v sotsialisticheskikh stranakh" [The Theory and Practice of Social Planning and Forecasting in the Socialist Countries] will be published in 1985. The prepared monograph is a truly collective work which is united by a common idea, which is based on a uniform theoretical and methodological basis.

The next meeting of the task force of the international symposium of the socialist countries will be held in Bulgaria in 1983 and will be devoted to the modeling of social processes.

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PROBLEMS OF THE STUDY OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 188-189

[Article by V. A. Mansurov: "Young People as a Subject of Research of Sociologists"]

[Text] The regular traditional meeting of sociologists, who are studying the problems of young people, was held in the fall of 1982 in Primorsko (Bulgaria). It was devoted to the experience and prospects of comparative international studies. The representatives of scientific institutions of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Cuba, Poland, Romania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia took part in the symposium.

P.-E. Mitev, director of the Scientific Research Institute of Young People attached to the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, who analyzed the main results of the comparative studies of young people in the socialist countries, delivered the main report. A review of the discussions on the problems of young people at the 10th World Sociology Congress in Mexico was also given in the report.

The theoretical and applied importance of the international study of the student body in the countries of the socialist community was described in the report of F. R. Filippov (USSR). The discussion participants--M. Sidor (Poland), K. Starke (GDR), F. Maler (Romania), Yu. Ye. Volkov (USSR) and A. M. Matejovsky (CSSR)--gave a high rating to the results of the international cooperation of the sociologists, who are studying the problems of young people in the socialist countries, and expressed the wishes for the improvement of the methods of research and the more thorough analysis of its results.

In conformity with the themes of the completed studies three sections worked at the symposium: "Young People and Higher Education" (F. R. Filippov, chairman), "The Social Aspects of the Formation of New Generations of the Working Class" (V. N. Shubkin, chairman) and "The Free Time of Young People" (I. Velez, chairman). The section participants supported the conducting of follow-up studies, which would make it possible to establish the dynamics of the social characteristics of the basic groups of young people.

The round table headed by Yu. Ye. Volkov (USSR) was devoted to the improvement of the methods of comparative studies. K. Gospodinov (Bulgaria) gave a detailed analysis of the merits and drawbacks of the procedural tools which were used during the mass surveys of students and working young people in the socialist countries

and examined in detail the peculiarities of the interpretation of the obtained results with allowance made for the conditions of each of the countries and the general laws of the development of socialism. In the discussion which developed, S. Zhelyazkov (Bulgaria), P. Foss (GDR), V. N. Shubkin (USSR), Z. Bekes (Hungary), Z. Kossel (Poland) and others proposed specific suggestions on the improvement of the methods of comparative studies of young people. M. Semov (Bulgaria) proposed to use quota samples extensively.

The round table "Young People in the 1980's: Problems and Prospects" was also held under the director of M. Semov. The most urgent directions of the sociological studies of young people: the way of life of various socio-occupational groups, the main aspects of the activity of youth leagues, including their ideological educational work, were discussed.

In connection with the election of P.-E. Mitev as chairman of the Research Committee "The Sociology of Young People" of the International Sociological Association, his information on the prospects of the activity of the committee was heard at the symposium. The suggestion on the conducting of an international comparative study "Young People and the World," which is open to all countries, was greeted with particular interest.

Taking into account the need for the improvement of the indicators, which are used in comparative studies, and the weakening of the influence of "semantic ambiguity," the meeting participants supported the suggestion of the Bulgarian party on the holding of a special symposium on these questions.

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WORLD CONGRESS ON FREE TIME

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) p 189

[Article by D. Fukas (Hungary): "World Congress on the Problems of Free Time"]

[Text] The Fourth World Congress on Free Time, which was organized by the Belgian Van Cle Foundation, was recently held. About 1,000 specialists from 35 countries of the world came to Brussels.

A few words about the past history of such meetings of scientists. The congress is held once every 3 years. The first of them was held under the motto "Activity During Free Time Under the Conditions of Industrial Society" (1973), the second--"Free Time and Self-Improvement" (1976), the third--"Contemporary Society on the Path to Free Time" (1979), the fourth--"Labor and Free Time."

The gradual transition from primarily plenary to sectional meetings attests to the increase of the practical orientation of the congresses. Moreover, 12 working commissions were formed at the last congress.

One of the main reports, which Antwerp University Rector van (Rompu) delivered, aroused great interest of the participants. The problems of free time were covered by him first of all subject to the quality, efficiency and organization of labor, as well as unemployment, which has reached an unprecedented scale in the western countries. Unemployment was discussed with alarm at all the meetings. Here it was noted that the official data on the number of unemployed (11 million in Europe and 9 percent of the number of those employed in the United States) are only the nominal figures, since they include only the people who have lost their job and overlook that portion of the young people, who for objective reasons have still not been able to take part in labor life. This circumstance led the congress participants to think about the need to refine considerably the concept of free time with allowance made for the phenomenon of unemployment. Free time as a category has a social meaning only in correlation with working time, in a different context, that is, as applied to the unemployed it is hardly legitimate to speak of free time in the social aspect.

In particular, the examination of the theme "Culinary Skill, the Link Between the Cultures of Peoples," within which the question of the free time of women was discussed, attests to the breadth of the problems which were discussed.

Special attention was devoted to the discussion of methodological questions of the study of free time. In particular, the established trend in the sociological practice of the socialist countries to analyze free time within the framework of the concept of the way of life was noted in the report of American sociologist Bosserman. Such an approach gave rise to a discussion on the concept "social time," which became a discussion topic at many sectional meetings of the congress. All this attests to the aspiration of scientists to search for a broader social background for the interpretation of free time. Frequently leisure is compared with labor, with social activeness and interpersonal relations. The author of these lines approached precisely from such a standpoint the structure of the free time of the workers of Csepel. The obtained data made it possible to draw the conclusion that it is legitimate to interpret leisure habits only with allowance for the specific social reality, as a special section of the dominant social relations.

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PREPARATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE FOR FAMILY LIFE

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[Article by I. S. Kon: "The Preparation of Young People for Marriage and Family Life"]

[Text] The preparation of young people for family life is an important social task. The third international seminar of sociologists of the socialist countries, which was held in October 1982 in Leipzig, was devoted to this theme. Sociologist, psychologists, medical people and educators from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Cuba, Poland, the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Ethiopia took part in the work of the seminar, which was organized by the Section of Marriage and the Family of the Society of Social Hygiene and the Central Institute of Youth Research of the GDR. (J. Heddi), secretary of the European Regional Council of the International Federation of Family Planning, attended as an observer. Three main questions were discussed: the state of the preparation for marriage and the family; the trends of the development of the sexual behavior of young people; problems of the birth rate.

It should be noted that more and more attention is being devoted to the preparation of young people for marriage and the family, including sex education, although, of course, the gained experience, historical traditions and real state of affairs in the different socialist countries are far from the same. The most branched system of advice institutions, which give assistance to the family, as well as of the training of school children for marriage, exists in the GDR. Here there is no shortage of skilled scientists and educators, the close cooperation of medical people, educators and sociologists has been set up, much appropriate literature, which is intended for the most diverse reader, is being published. One of the popular books on this problem, "Man and Woman in the Intimate Sphere" by Z. Schnabel, which first appeared in 1970, was recently published for the 14th time. Many works of GDR scholars have been translated into foreign languages, including Russian.

A mandatory sex education course was introduced 2 years ago in the schools of Poland--in the upper grades 16 hours a year are allotted to it. However, as M. Kozakewicz, chairman of the Polish Pedagogical Society, emphasized, specialists of the country have to overcome the stubborn resistance of the Catholic Church, which objects to secular sex education, the authorization of abortions and the use of contraceptives. At Bulgarian schools, according to the testimony of M. Dinkova, a staff member of the Institute of Youth Research attached to the Central Committee

of the Dimitrov Youth League, and physician and gynecologist D. Vasilev, a program of sex education and preparation for marriage has existed already for 10 years, but up to now a shortage of skilled educators has been felt. In Hungary, as V. Silagi related, the corresponding course, which is designed for 8 years, was firmly established in the elementary and secondary school in 1973. Czech scholars M. Brdnikova and R. Uzel shared their interesting experience in using the mass media for preparing young people for marriage.

Impressive gains have been made in Cuba. Comparatively recently, when a conservative ideology postulating male superiority--"machismo"--was widespread among the population, it was impossible even to discuss such themes. Now the situation has changed radically. The First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba (1975) posed the task of organizing the systematic preparation of young people for marriage and the family, which are based on the equality of men and women. M. Crause, a representative of the Task Force on Sex Education attached to a permanent commission of the National Assembly of Cuba, reported that starting with the 1981/82 school year the students of pedagogical higher educational institutions and schools, as well as medical institutions of the country will study without fail a sex education course, the scope of which comes to 72 hours. Much work is also being done among school children, here the mass media--the youth press, radio and television--are being used extensively. Scholars from the GDR, as well as the International Federation of Family Planning are providing the Cuban comrades with important assistance in the training of professional personnel.

It should be noted that at the seminar it was a question not simply of pedagogical problems (methods of sex education were practically not discussed here), but of sociopedagogical problems, which have a most direct bearing on sociology. Mainly fundamental questions were discussed--what do the goals of sex education consist in and what is its relationship with the task of preparing young people for marriage and the family. Among the participants there was no disagreement that sex education, being a part of the integral process of forming a socialist type of personality, should be carried out on the basis of the principles of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and ethics, within the context of the more general task of strengthening the family. However, human sexuality is polyfunctional. It would be just as absurd to evaluate the achievements of sex education only from the standpoint of how it affects the stability of marriage as, for example, to reduce all the problems of the sociology of labor to the reduction of the turnover of personnel. During the discussion it was emphasized: the main goal of sex education is to help young people to be happy, to teach them to establish contact better with each other and to control their behavior. Of course, this will not be able to eliminate divorces completely, but will without fail have a positive effect on the quality of family life and, consequently, on its stability.

The humanistic strategy of education, in case of which the individual acts as the subject, and not the object of activity, has nothing in common with petty bourgeois anarchism. In analyzing the types of sexual ethics, which exist today in Europe, Kozakewicz--and the discussion participants agreed with him--condemned the extreme stands, be it the traditional "repressive" morals, which are permeated with a lack of confidence in individual reason and place their trust mainly in the strictness of prohibitions, or the "permissive" morals of libertinism, which strives to "liberate" sexuality from all restrictions and views it outside any social and ethical context. The overwhelming majority of specialists of the socialist countries

adhere in this matter to the principle of the "golden mean," according to which it is necessary to combine the freedom of individual self-realization harmoniously with thorough social responsibility. In this sphere of sexual behavior, in which not one person, but two people are the primary unit, this is especially important. However, the opinions of scholars on some specific questions or others do not always coincide, which reflects not simply the differences in personal views, but the different national, cultural, religious and other traditions which are the basis for the latter.

I have already had occasion to indicate that neither the preparation of young people for marriage and the family nor an effective medical and sexual service is possible without systematic studies of the dynamics of the sexual behavior and the corresponding value orientations of the population [1]. The reports of K. Starke (GDR), I. Asodi (Hungary), L. Godewski (Poland) and others were devoted to this problem. Generalizing the results of a large-scale representative study (7,000 married couples were surveyed), which was conducted by Bulgarian sociologists on the instructions of the State Council, Dinkova noted that sexual satisfaction is among the most important factors of the stability of marriage, along with satisfaction with the emotional aspect of the interrelations (friendship, mutual love, trust and so forth) and the aim at the equality and mutual assistance of the spouses.

Important and extensive information was gathered during a study of the sexual behavior and orientations of boys and girls, which was conducted in the GDR by the Central Institute of Youth Research under the supervision of W. Friedrich and K. Starke. (In all 5,469 respondents from 16 to 30 years old were surveyed, including 2,163 workers, 1,751 students of vocational and technical schools and 1,555 students.) The obtained data convincingly show the historical variability of sexual behavior and the corresponding views. The changes among women are especially appreciable. The number of the latter, who are experiencing sexual dissatisfaction, has decreased sharply, the average age (16 and 19 years old) of the boys and girls of the GDR, who are commencing sexual life and so on, is practically identical. At the same time both men and women are attaching greater and greater importance to the emotional and communicative aspects of interrelations--spiritual closeness, trust. The type of sexual behavior of a person, Starke emphasized in his statement, is closely connected with the general characteristics of the individual and other aspects of vital activity. While occupying one of the central places in the life of young people, love and sexuality do not act (as is frequently observed in the West) as an alternative to such values as labor, education and the family. The majority of young people strive to combine harmoniously different value orientations, being guided here by specific philosophical and moral principles.

Of course, this process occurs by no means automatically. The breakup of traditional strict normative standards in the relations between a man and a woman is facing the individual and society with a large number of complicated problems. As Silagi emphasized, the orientations only toward the family or only toward professional activity are equally one-sided and do not conform to the principles of socialist humanism.

The problem of contraception was discussed on the last day of work of the seminar. At first glance it seems especially medical. However, physician-gynecologists and hygienists evaluate only the degree of effectiveness and long-term safety of some contraceptives or others. The question of whether they should be promoted among

young people, especially minors, is rather of a social and ethical nature. In the recent past many educators and parents opposed such a practice, believing that this could lead to a decrease of the birth rate and make young people more irresponsible and indiscriminating in relations. The apprehensions were also expressed that information on the existing contraceptives would be perceived by 15- and 16-year old school children as an encouragement for early sexual activity and so on and so forth.

In themselves such arguments are important. However, life is making substantial adjustments in them. It has been proven that the lack of good contraceptives or the inability to use them promotes an increase not so much of the birth rate as of the number of abortions. For example, according to the data of L. Aresien and K. Starke minors account for 20 percent of all the abortions in the GDR. The low level of sexual culture of the population has a pernicious effect on its health, without increasing morality at all. Sexology scholars of the socialist countries have come to a unanimous opinion: it is necessary to carry out sex education tactfully, taking into account the peculiarities of national traditions, but at the same time it should not lose contact with real life. It should not attempt to make the decision for young people, but should help them to manage this complicated sphere themselves, having provided them with important and timely scientific information. But so that the feedback would not be upset, it is necessary to conduct systematically by the joint efforts of educators, physicians and sociologists sociological surveys and studies, which verify the actual level of knowledge and sexual culture of young people and the population as a whole.

In a brief report there is no opportunity to cover all the questions which were discussed at the seminar. I would like merely to emphasize that our foreign colleagues were keenly interested in the Soviet experience, particularly the new experimental school programs and the peculiarities of the preparation for marriage and the family in the different national republics. At the same time several critical remarks were also expressed concerning several pedagogical and journalistic works which have been published in the USSR, in which the traditional model of the sexual division of labor is elevated too categorically to the rank of a universal biological law. It should be acknowledged that the lag in the elaboration of the sociology of sex roles and the psychology of sexual differences truly affects the level of some mass publications which unintentionally absolutize the stereotypes of everyday consciousness.

In the closing speech Starke briefly formulated the following basic principles, by which the scholars studying the problems in the area in question should be guided: 1) the responsibility to young people for the creation of the most favorable conditions for the all-round development of the personality and the strengthening of marital and family relations; 2) the continuity of scientific research in each individual country and field of knowledge; 3) the interdisciplinary nature of research; 4) international sociological cooperation, the cooperation of scholars of different countries, which are facing the same fundamental problems; 5) the differentiation of approaches, the consideration of national, sociohistorical and cultural peculiarities, demographic characteristics and so on.

It was decided to begin in the immediate future the preparation for the next, fourth seminar.

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PROBLEMS OF COMPARATIVE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 193-194

[Article by V. G. Andreyenkov and M. S. Kosolapov: "The Problems of Comparative Studies Are Being Discussed"]

[Text] The All-Union Symposium "The Problems of Comparative Sociological Studies," which was organized by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Soviet Sociological Association, was held in November 1982. Sociologists from Moscow, Leningrad, Gorkiy, Kiev, Novosibirsk, Orel, Perm and Sverdlovsk and representatives of Lithuania, Estonia and Georgia took part in its work. The experience of comparative studies, as well as the methodological and procedural peculiarities and potentials of the comparative analysis of social phenomena were discussed. The following themes were examined: the general theoretical, methodological and procedural problems of comparative sociological studies; the experience and problems of regional comparative studies; the experience of interval studies and the problems of dynamic comparative analysis; the specific nature of the organization and conducting of international comparative studies; the role of the data of state and departmental statistics in comparative studies.

In opening the symposium, I. T. Levykin, deputy director of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, emphasized that the accumulated empirical material and its theoretical interpretation have enabled sociologists to rise to a qualitatively new level. The speaker indicated that the transition to comprehensive studies, in which society and its individual components are regarded as integral systems in all the diversity of economic, social, political and ideological relations, is the main trend of the development of sociological science for the immediate future. One of the mechanisms of the realization of this trend is the comparative analysis of the data which have been obtained during sociological studies of various kinds. Comparative studies are beginning to be formed into a special branch of sociology--comparative sociology, which has its own special subject, methodology and methods.

Speaking at the meeting, which was devoted to general theoretical, methodological and procedural problems, V. G. Andreyenkov (Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences) dwelled on the description of the basic sources of comparative data in sociology: international and interterritorial empirical studies; intermittent studies--trend (or follow-up), panel, cohort and biographical; the archives of primary empirical data; state and departmental statistics and

publications. The elaboration of the theoretical, methodological and procedural problems of comparative studies, which are connected with the practice of mass sample surveys, it was noted in the statement, is especially important as it makes it possible to look in a new way at the problems of the quality of the data, the measurement, analysis and interpretation of facts. The speaker dwelled on a number of questions, which are connected with the development of adequate research strategies for the comparative analysis of specific social phenomena and the conditions of the applicability of different methods of gathering data; with the search for a framework of comparability and equivalence when measuring the similarity and differences of characteristics in different populations; with the problems of standardization and the evaluations of comparability; with the logic of the analysis of temporary changes; with the elaboration of a comparable interpretation of the results of a comparative analysis.

P. O. Kenkmann (Tartu State University) spoke about the classification of the methods of comparative studies; he emphasized that it is necessary to regard the latter as special strategies of sociological studies.

V. B. Golofast (Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences) devoted his report to the need for the consideration and measurement of microfactors (general social conditions) in a comparative study. This, in the opinion of the speaker, is also a subject of comparative analysis when comparing the data of simultaneous local studies.

Z. I. Faynburg (Perm Polytechnical Institute) touched upon the important question of comparability in comparative studies in the case of divergent theoretical positions. The author sees the solution of the problem in the revelation of the internal structure of the empirical sociological fact and in the distinction of the levels according to the nature of the reproduction of objective social reality.

V. O. Rukavishnikov (Scientific Research Institute of Vocational and Technical Education) devoted his statement to the substantiation of the need to make a comparison of local sociological studies at the level of integral syndromes, and not at the level of the initial indicators of the set of tools. During the discussion which took place it was noted that in a number of instances this will make it possible to increase the reliability of the conclusions.

Much attention at the symposium was devoted to the problems of measurement and to questions of the use of mathematical methods of analysis in a comparative study. These themes were covered in the heads of reports and the reports of P. F. Andrukovich (Central Institute of Economics and Mathematics of the USSR Academy of Sciences), M. S. Kosolapov, Yu. N. Tolstova, V. A. Shvedovskiy (Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences), V. B. Kovchegov (All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Complex Fuel and Energy Problems attached to USSR Gosplan) and others.

The procedural questions connected with the search for ways of overcoming the contradictions between the requirements of comparability and completeness of the data in interval studied were examined in the heads of the report of V. A. Yadov (Institute of Socioeconomic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences). It is a question of the identity of the samples, the identity of the methods of gathering and processing the primary data and the consideration of the error of measurement when evaluating substantial changes under the conditions of: 1) changes of the structure

of the object of the study; 2) new processes and properties (which previously did not occur or are important), the development of knowledge itself; 3) negligible changes, which are comparable to the errors of measurement. Yadov touched upon the urgent question of the choice of a well-founded time interval in repetitive studies.

In the statement of L. A. Gordon (Institute of the International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences) this problem was regarded as a component of a broader approach, which involves the consideration of the characteristics of macro-social processes in the local intermittent analysis. A truly meaningful analysis of the results of local diachronic studies is possible, the speaker noted, only in the context of the socioeconomic changes in the life of society, the time interval when investigating each phenomenon being studied should be determined precisely by these changes.

The experience of specific comparative studies was examined in the reports of Lithuanian sociologists A. A. Matulenis, A. Eygirdas (IFSP of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences) and Yu. I. Leonavichus (Kaunas Polytechnical Institute), as well as in the statements of I. T. Levykin, V. V. Yermakova (Orel Pedagogical Institute) and N. V. Vyalov (Urals State University).

In the materials submitted to the symposium much attention was devoted to regional comparative studies. Thus, in the heads of the report of R. V. Ryvkina (Institute of Economics and the Organization of Industrial Production of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences) it is shown that the comparative dynamic analysis, which identifies the trends of change of the countryside as a whole, is being supplemented by a comparative static analysis, which makes it possible to make a spatial analysis. From the example of the conducted studies it is evident how at different stages the group of comparable indicators expands and how in practice the methods of gathering raw data for the detection of new objects and properties of phenomena are supplemented.

Yu. V. Arutyunyan, V. S. Kondrat'yev and A. A. Susokolov (Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences) raise the problem of the combination of the data of a specific sociological study and the materials of state and departmental statistics. The last of them not only proposes to use the materials of the current account of the population when conducting comparative ethnosociological studies, but also describes the experience of introducing in everyday practice new accounting documents, which contain data which are necessary for social studies. An original approach of the reducibility of the obtained results to the data of state statistics, as a method of ensuring the comparability of sociological studies, was proposed by T. P. Kozlova (Perm Polytechnical Institute).

The need for the further development of comparative sociological studies and for the elaboration of the methodological and procedural problems of the comparative study and analysis of social phenomena was noted in the recommendations adopted at the final meeting of the symposium. It was decided to publish the works of the symposium and to continue the discussion of the raised problems at special seminars at the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

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DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) p 195

[Article by Ye. V. Foteyeva: "Demographic Policy in Socialist Society"]

[Text] The All-Union Scientific Conference "Problems of Demographic Policy in Socialist Society," which was organized by the Scientific Council "Socioeconomic Problems of Population" of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Center for the Study of Problems of Population of Moscow State University, the Scientific Council "Socioeconomic Problems of Population and Labor" of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Labor and the Institute of Economics of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, was held in Kiev. Representatives of the union republics and scholars of a number of socialist and developing countries took part in the work of the conference.

The plenary meeting was opened by Academician of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences I. I. Lukinov, who told about the strategic directions of the improvement of the demographic policy of socialist society. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences T. V. Ryabushkin analyzed the features of the demographic situation in the USSR. The urgent theoretical problems of demographic policy were discussed in the report of Doctor of Economic Sciences D. I. Valentey (jointly with Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Ya. Kvasha). The reports of Yu. N. Paleyev and Doctor of Economic Sciences V. G. Kostakov were devoted to the improvement of the planned management of sociodemographic development and to the problems of the use of manpower resources. In their statements Candidate of Economic Sciences A. G. Volkov and Doctor of Economic Sciences L. L. Rybakovskiy dwelled on individual important objects of the demographic policy, such as the family and migratory processes.

A wide range of questions of the improvement of demographic policy: its most important theoretical problems, the influence on the formation and development of the family, the strengthening of the health of the population, the reproduction of manpower resources, was discussed during the meetings of the seven sections. The problems of settlement and migratory policy and the regional and organizational aspects of the influence on demographic processes were also examined.

Serious attention was devoted at the conference to the sociology of the family. In particular, it was noted that the study of the changes of the standard of living of the family in connection with its demographic development includes the questions of

the forecasting of the standard of living and the differentiation of the consumption of public goods and services, the cultural activeness of the family with allowance made for the family structure of the population, the transformation of the demographic composition of the family, the length of marriage of couples, the level of education and skills of the members of the family.

The conference participants verified the decrease in the structure of the needs of the individual of the need for children (N. V. Zvereva, V. M. Medkov). The prevalence among a significant portion of the population of the small-family stereotype (one to two children) attests that precisely such a type of family corresponds better than other models to the established way of life. Under these conditions for the reproduction of the population at a level of not less than simple reproduction (about three children in the family) the demographic policy should be aimed at the formation of such a way of life, within which the average number of children would be regarded as the optimum (L. Ye. Darskiy). Particular attention was devoted to the specific nature of the formation of the two-children family and to the possibilities of controlling the indicated process (A. I. Antonov, I. V. Dzarasova).

The young family has specific traits and is faced with a number of urgent problems, without always being able to solve them effectively. As a result, families which have existed less than 5 years account for a significant proportion of the divorces. Such problems of the young family as economic dependence on parents, unfavorable housing conditions, the lack of conformity of the aims of couples in the household, reproductive and leisure spheres and others were discussed at the conference. The identification of the causes of the breakdown and the special training of young people for marriage will undoubtedly make it possible to increase the stability of the young family.

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NEWS ITEMS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) p 196

[News items]

[Text] The Applied Science Conference "The Problems of the Development of the Socialist Way of Life in Light of the Demands of the 26th CPSU Congress" was held in Magadan. The main attention of the participants was devoted to questions of the study of the regional peculiarities of the way of life: the working and living conditions, the conditions of relaxation and social activity, the needs and life plans of various groups of the population.

K. A. Fedorova

A republic seminar of sociologists of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy was held at the Order of Lenin Metallurgical Plant imeni S. M. Kirov in Makeyevka of Donetsk Oblast. In addition to plant sociologists, workers of the ministry and the Donetsk Oblast Committee of the Metallurgical Industry Workers Union and scientists of the Donetsk State University, the Dnepropetrovsk Metallurgical Institute and the Institute of Economics of Industry of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences took part in the work of the seminar. The work of the seminar was devoted to questions of the organization and conducting of sociological studies at the enterprises of the sector. The seminar participants shared their work experience, discussed and adopted recommendations on the further increase of the role of the sociological services of the enterprises of the sector in the study of the social reserves of the increase of production efficiency.

V. N. Zybtsev

An applied science conference on the theme "The Culture of Labor as a Reserve of the Increase of Production Efficiency," which was organized by the Bashkir Council of Scientific and Technical Societies, the Ufa Institute of Aviation imeni S. Ordzhonikidze and the Bashkir Center of Scientific and Technical Information and Propaganda, was held in Ufa. Plant sociologists, psychologists, workers of culture and the divisions of labor and the scientific organization of labor and instructors of higher educational institutions from Moscow, Leningrad, Kuybyshev, Sverdlovsk, Brest and other cities of the country took part in the work of the conference. The conference drew up recommendations on the improvement of the culture

of labor at the works. In accordance with the results of the discussions and the sharing of experience a collection of articles edited by R. A. Zlotnikov was published.

A. V. Benifand

The Fourth Urals Sociological Lecture Series was held in Perm. At the plenary meeting Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor O. N. Zhemanov delivered the report "The Sociological Approach in Social Policy." He analyzed the social importance of the organizational and technical factors of the development of production under the specific conditions of a specific region. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor N. A. Aitov dwelled on the problems of the effectiveness of social control, having especially singled out the question of the gradual nature of the overcoming of social differences and of the negative influence on social development of any attempts at leveling. The urgent problems of the ideological struggle in sociology were examined in the report of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor G. P. Orlov. In connection with them Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor F. R. Filippov (Moscow) covered the main results of the 10th World Sociological Congress in Mexico, while Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor A. F. Okulov (Moscow) covered the tasks of the atheistic education of workers under present conditions. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor V. I. Staroverov (Moscow) delivered the report "The Tasks of the Development of Agrarian Sociology in Light of the Decisions of the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum."

Then the more than 300 participants in the lectures worked in 8 sections, in which the questions of the study of the socialist way of life and the increase of the effectiveness of ideological and political educational work and the sociological problems of labor, culture, the formation of the individual and others were discussed. The meeting of the section "Sociological Problems of the Development of the Nonchernozem Zone" was held at the base of the Permskiy Sovkhoz.

A meeting with readers of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA and a round table meeting of the journal, a report on which will be published in the next issue, were held after the conclusion of the lectures.

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THOUGHTS ON A NEW BOOK

MORAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 197-201

[Article by Leonid Mikhaylovich Arkhangel'skiy: "Sociological Studies of the Moral Development of the Individual"]

[Text] The article which is published below is the last work of the well-known Soviet philosopher Leonid Mikhaylovich Arkhangel'skiy. He was a leading specialist on methodological problems of ethics, for many years was in charge of the Sector of Ethics of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences and published more than 100 scientific works. Among them are the well-known books "Kategorii marksistskoy etiki" [Categories of Marxist Ethics] (1963), "Lektsii po marksistsko-leninskoy etike" [Lectures on Marxist-Leninist Ethics] (1974), "Sotsial'no-eticheskiye problemy teorii lichnosti" [Social and Ethical Problems of the Theory of Personality] (1976) and others. He never managed to complete the work on the article for our journal. Paying deep respect to the fine man and talented researcher, the editorial board is publishing the article as it was left on the desk of the scholar.

Is it possible by formulas, columns of statistical data and numerical computations to prepare the dream, aspirations, wishes and goals of a person? V. M. Sokolov begins his book "Nravstvennyy mir sovetskogo cheloveka" [The Moral World of the Soviet Individual] [1, p 3] with such a question. The answer cannot be unequivocal.

Many difficulties and unsolved problems still lie in the path of sociological studies of morals. It has already been repeatedly noted: the simple carrying over of the methods of concrete sociology to ethics is fraught with the vulgarization of the object of study [2, p 49; 5]. In what way is one to establish the real value of an act, if it is well known that not any action is identical to it, that it becomes an act in unity with the moral motive and the social effect? Thus, it should be a question not only of the means of recording moral motives with a set of sociological tools, but also of the comprehensive analysis of real behavior.

The theoretical model of the subject of ethical sociological studies was created back in 1965 [2]. Relying on this model and developing it, V. M. Sokolov outlines

in the following manner the limits of the subject of the concrete sociology of morals and moral education: "...the degree of conformity (coincidence and noncoincidence) of the moral principles of a person or a specific group of people to the specific norms and principles of morals of socialist society at the given stage of its development; the degree of conformity of the real behavior of people to the moral norms and principles of society; the degree of conformity of the moral norms learned by the individual to his real behavior" [1, p 21]. Since any type of social activity includes moral aspects, the latter are in the purview of sociology. The specification of the basic tasks of the sociology of morals, which V. M. Sokolov makes on the basis of the proposed understanding of the object of study, is very significant: relying on precise methods, the sociology of morals creates a picture of the most characteristic qualities of the typical person of our society, as well as forecasts the directions of the ideological and moral development of different social groups.

It is well known that the results of sociological studies can be used at the general and special theoretical levels. The turn of sociology to ethical problems is possible at all these levels; but whereas in some cases the concrete sociological material becomes the immediate subject of analysis, in others it is present "in watered down form." Of the books published in recent years, in which theoretical elaborations of the ethical sociological problems of mature socialist society are presented, two collective works should be distinguished--"Moral' razvitogo sotsializma" [The Morals of Mature Socialism] [3] and "Nravstvennoye vospitaniye v trudovom kollektive" [Moral Education in the Labor Collective] [4]. Whereas the authors of the first book examine morals on a general sociological level, in the second book, which was written on the basis of the materials of an all-union ethical sociological study of 68 labor collectives of 12 regions of the country, the peculiarities of the moral relations in production collectives of the city and the countryside, at scientific institutions and in services are analyzed. The point of view of V. M. Sokolov is characteristic of his book: he studies the moral world of his contemporary through the attitude of the latter toward the social processes of mature socialism.

Thus, the object of the ethical sociological investigation is outlined as an object, which has different aspects and different scales, which cannot but affect the tasks and results of studies. In our opinion, it is necessary to continue this work in two closely connected directions. First of all the need has arisen for the systems coverage of all the dynamic relations of morals with different, but interacting social spheres: the economic and social structure, political and legal relations, spiritual culture. In this connection the study of the interaction of sociophilosophical categories (such as "people," "way of life," "culture") with ethical categories is important. And the main thing is that the general sociological theory of the morals of mature socialism needs to be based on the material of concrete studies of the moral life of socialist society.

V. M. Sokolov carefully analyzes the possibilities of various sociological means of studying morals. When speaking, for example, about the written questionnaire, he correctly notes that the researcher at best will obtain information on the moral knowledge of the respondents, but not about their convictions and motives. The obtained data are not coincident with the inner world of a person not only because he can conceal his true convictions, but also because not all people are capable of thoroughly analyzing their inner world. In short, surveying is not

the only method of studying spiritual values. Sociologists of the GDR, for example, have used the method of processing the tape recordings of the accounts of various people about themselves, their parents and comrades and have obtained very valuable information on the influence of the immediate environment on the formation of the spiritual character of people and on their convictions. The analysis of personal documents--diaries, letters and so forth, the special long-term observation by the sociologist of a specific group of people, as well as tests and psychological experiments are a difficult, but fruitful means of understanding the secrets of the consciousness. Let us note in passing: the author overlooks the materials of debates and discussions of moral problems--an important source of ethical information.

The study of public opinion, particularly the establishment of the typical appraisals of the morals, attitudes and moral qualities, which exist in one environment or another, is a quite effective method of obtaining data on the state of the moral consciousness and the real moral attitudes of large groups of people. It is significant that the study of public opinion in various regions of the country (the all-union study of 1978-1979 in accordance with the program "Moral Education in the Labor Collective") established as a whole a quite uniform picture: industry (90.6 percent), the sense of comradeship (87.8 percent), respect for the elderly (83.4 percent) and respect for women (79.4 percent) were recognized as the most important qualities; civic spirit (80.6 percent), the unity of word and deed (72.3 percent) and ideological conviction (71.6 percent) were grouped with the quite prevalent ones. At the same time a rather large number of those surveyed--on the average about 35 percent--believe that many people have such important characteristics as the adherence to principles, the ability in any situation not to give up one's moral principles, disinterestedness and a high level of culture. Turning the assessment of such data, V. M. Sokolov draws the following conclusion: "...the sociological study clearly refutes the narrow-minded opinion, which is still being encountered, that, they say, many people are discontent with the moral qualities of our people and first of all young people. At the same time the results of the study for individual enterprises put in the hands of ideological workers factual material which shows an unfavorable picture in this respect" [1, p 66]. The latter is especially important because the prevalence of the adherence to principles, the sense of comradeship and the unity of word and deed is directly connected by public opinion with the level of the organization of labor and educational work in the collectives.

V. M. Sokolov directs attention to the great potentials of the method of dominant propositions, which was used by him when studying the problems of the moral education of young people. Its essence consists in the following: "All general moral concepts: collectivism, the sense of duty, humanism and so on, include a set of more particular moral stands, which we call the dominant propositions of the given concept. The dominant propositions are, figuratively speaking, the bricks from which moral categories are formed. The dominant propositions should meet two basic conditions. First, in their aggregate they should be essential characteristics of 'their own' moral category. Second, they should be of an instrumental nature, that is, be suited for use when analyzing the extent of information (knowledge), convictions, the social orientation of actions and their moral reasons for the subject" [1, pp 32-33]. The method of dominant propositions, thus, both in essence and instrumentally is a complex method which makes it possible to identify the main, decisive thing in the moral orientations of the individual.

In connection with the use of this method one should rate highly the second--the central--chapter of the book of V. M. Sokolov, "The Dominants of the Moral World of the Contemporary." The generalization of the studies, which were conducted at different times and in different groups of young people, led the author of the book to the conviction that "people, who are oriented toward socially important values, who consciously put in first place such of them as the service of people, the desire to win their respect, who tend toward a job which benefits society most and gives room for creative activity, people, who are intolerant toward antisocial acts, are the dominant type of individual among Soviet young people" [1, pp 58-59]. It may be asked: But did we really not know about this without sociological studies? Social practice is constantly offering numerous proofs of the moral merits of the Soviet individual. But the same practice astonishes us, alas, not with isolated examples of deviation from the norms of socialist morals, therefore, it is also not surprising that some people, who react strongly to any display of moral evil, but are not furnished with methods of the scientific evaluation of reality, not that rarely do not see the forest for the trees. But even this is not the main thing: the declarative assertions, which propose to take on trust much of what should still be proved, no longer affects the modern serious reader.

Ethical sociological studies make it possible to ascertain the degree of conformity of the moral norms, which have been learned by the individual, to his real behavior. The comparison of the data on the state of moral consciousness, which is established by means of a survey, with the objective data, which characterize the behavior of the representatives of the groups being studied, is becoming an important source of such information. A conversation with the fellow workers of the subject (in the method of dominant propositions), the method of expert appraisals and, finally, moral statistics can serve as a source of information. From the following example it is possible to be convinced, of what great importance the comparison of subjective and objective data is.

In the process of the all-union sociological study, which was conducted in accordance with the program "Moral Education in the Labor Collective," it was established that 71.8 percent of the respondents strive to take an active position in life. On the basis of the appraisals of managers, which were compared with the objective data, it was possible to derive an integrated indicator of real activeness, which was equal to 53.3 percent of the number of all those who were surveyed. Thus, there is no complete conformity between the psychological aim and practical activity: not everyone, who is prepared for active community work, takes part in it. On the other hand, a considerable number of people, who do perform public assignments, view this activity negatively. The correlation of real activeness with the psychological aim, which is established by sociological studies, can help practical workers, first of all managers, to solve more specifically the educational problems in labor collectives.

While noting the need for the comparison of subjective and objective data as a most important condition of ethical sociological studies, it is impossible once again not to express anxiety concerning the following circumstance: neither sociologists nor ethics specialists have the opportunity to use the data of moral statistics. This is connected with the lack of the elaboration of quantitative indicators which make it possible to introduce a comparative analysis in the objective descriptions of moral phenomena. As a result ethical sociological studies suffer from a substantial shortcoming: they lack a general background, which could lend them the necessary scale.

Nevertheless, it is impossible not to appraise what has already been done as an unqualified success. The sociology of morals provides us with knowledge of the most important dependences of the moral world of the individual on the objective and subjective factors of his development. The book of V. M. Sokolov is a graphic example of how sociological data make it possible to identify the direct and indirect determinants of moral consciousness as a whole and in its specific manifestations. In the chapter "The Activeness of the Spirit Is the Activeness of Life," which is especially saturated with concrete information, the author convincingly shows: the formation of an active position in life of our young contemporary is mediated by such factors as age, education, the breadth of spiritual demands, adherence to party principles. For example, the data concerning the fact that public activeness "increases" at each of the educational levels (elementary, incomplete secondary, complete secondary, incomplete higher and higher education) by approximately 10 percent, are interesting [1, p 91]. V. M. Sokolov proves with figures in hand that realized activeness in public life, which is prompted by lofty civic motives, as a rule, is harmoniously linked with many just as lofty spiritual qualities of a person, with his activeness in other spheres of vital activity. In particular, according to the data of the author, nearly 70 percent of the young people, who participate as a public service in administrative activity, note that their attitude toward labor and the members of their own collective began to change substantially precisely in the process of their active community work [1, p 96]. "But in these general relations," the author notes, "there are components which dominate over the others, they govern to the greatest extent the overall result—one moral orientation of the individual or another. The activeness of the spirit is also such a dominant" [1, p 97]. The author was able to follow this thought through all the chapters of the book. The moral conflicts, which form with respect to different types of socialist labor, in the sphere of consumption and in other areas, reveal the level of internal culture of the individual and the ability to reasonably correlate one's own personal interests with the interests of society and the collective.

V. M. Sokolov does not strive to embellish reality and to avoid the discussion of urgent questions. The sociological analysis of specific data makes it possible to determine the real ratio of light and dark, to show that although the orientation toward positive moral values is also the leading objective law of the development of the socialist individual, this should to no extent allay our sense of intolerance toward negative phenomena. The "diseases of the consciousness," which at times turn into antisocial behavior, are prepared in the book. Such objective factors as the differences in the nature and conditions of labor, the place of residence, economic status and others are interpreted differently in the individual consciousness and are therefore regarded by the author not as causes of the negative phenomena in the sphere of morals, but as their prerequisites. The errors, oversights and shortcomings in economic and cultural construction can also give rise to amoral phenomena, especially when a consistent struggle is not waged against them or the sense of intolerance toward any deviation from socialist laws and the norms of communist morality is poorly cultivated. To cultivate among young people intolerance to everything alien means to form the strength of the spirit—such is the inspiration of the book of V. M. Sokolov.

The work "Nravstvennoye vospitaniye v trudovom kollektive" [Moral Education in the Labor Collective], which is directly associated with it, is often based on the analysis of the same sociological material, but this is done on a different, more specific level. The authors strive to show how one of the means of the

comprehensive approach to education--the individualized treatment of different occupational and demographic groups of workers, which makes it possible to take into account the peculiarities of their interests, views and behavior--is realized.

But, of course, not everything in the sphere of morality is liable to quantitative measurements and calculations. The opinion that the most perfect sociological methods are not capable of penetrating the depths of the spiritual world of the individual, is correct. In overcoming these limitations, the sociology of morals directs attention to sociographic information, the enormous scientific importance of which was shown by writer V. Ya. Kantorovich [6]. Writing on current affairs, first of all essays on morals, among which one should single out the works of Ye. Bogat, V. Agranovskiy and I. Vasil'yev, which in the end develop into independent studies, the importance of which it is difficult to overestimate, bears such information. Unfortunately, this genre, which is being developed at the same time as scientific research, so far is being poorly utilized by the sociologists of morals.

Belletristic information is being introduced much more actively into the fabric of sociological studies. It is a question not of individual examples which illustrate theoretical conclusions, but of the special sociological processing of belletristic material. Art, and fiction in particular, depicts a phenomenon, science reveals its dependence on concrete historical circumstances. The ethical sociological interpretation as such of modern reality through the prism of its belletristic reflection is a special problem. Along the path of its solution a unique genre of ethical sociological literature is developed: books of the reflections, thoughts of scholars on urgent problems of morality. The works of R. I. Kosolapov "Byt' ili ne byt' lichnost'yu?" [Should One Be and Not Be an Individual] [7] and V. I. Tolstykh "Sokrat i my" [Socrates and We] [8] attest to the great possibilities of this genre. Classical and modern belletristic material has been used successfully, in our opinion, by the young research V. A. Bachinin [9]. In his work "Meshchanstvo kak sotsial'no-nravstvennaya problema" [Middle Class Conventionality as a Social and Moral Problem] he gives a textological analysis of the concept "the petty bourgeois" with respect to the works of H. Heine, A. S. Pushkin, M. Ye. Saltykov-Shcherdrin, N. A. Ostrovskiy, G. I. Uspenskiy, N. G. Pomyalovskiy, A. P. Chekhov and A. M. Gor'kiy. Fiction provided a many-sided description of the prerevolutionary petty bourgeoisie. Soviet fiction of the 1920's and 1930's, as well as the latest prose of Soviet writers help to understand its social mimicry during the postrevolutionary period and the guise of the contemporary philistine.

The appearance of works, which are based on ethical sociological studies, is a noteworthy fact. It is safe to assert that the preparatory stage, which was drawn out for a long time, of the origination of a new direction, which arose at the meeting point of sociology and ethics and received the name "the sociology of morals," is coming to an end.

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE NATIONAL AND THE INTERNATIONAL IN SOCIAL PROGRESS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 202-203

[Review by M. Kh. Khalmukhamedov of book "Natsional'noye i internatsional'noye v sovremennom mire" [The National and the International in the Modern World], Yu. V. Bromley and I. P. Kalin, editors in chief, Shtiintsa, Kishinev, 1981, 389 pages]

[Text] The collective monograph, which was prepared on the basis of the materials of the All-Union Theoretical Science Conference, which was held by the Scientific Council on National Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Kishinev (1979) jointly with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia, will undoubtedly attract the attention of researchers. Among the authors are leading scholars of the country, who are specialists in the area of the theory and practice of national relations, as well as prominent party and soviet workers and representatives of culture and art.

A thorough historical method, completeness and an interdisciplinary approach to the coverage of the problems of the correlation of the national and the international, which are taken in different time and space measurements, distinguish the book. The economic, social class, culturological, linguistic, ethnic, esthetic and psychological aspects are reflected in the work. This is not by chance, since among the authors there are philosophers, economists, historians, ethnographers, philologists, psychologists and so on. Let us dwell briefly on each of the distinguished characteristics.

At present the correlation of the national and the international appears as one of the key problems of the social progress of mankind. In the book it is justly emphasized that the study of this key question requires the ability to analyze and interpret the essence of the present trends in the development of national life (p 7). It is impossible not to agree with the remark made in the book that in our country the study of domestic national processes frequently is carried out in isolation from the examination of the phenomena which are occurring in the sphere of national relations in the other socialist, as well as the capitalist countries. This complicates the thorough revelation of the general trends of the change of the correlation of the national and the international in the modern world. Moreover, the opportunity to stress the advantages of socialism in the sphere of national relations remains unused (p 9).

The positive side of the work under review consists in the fact that in it the correlation of the national and the international is examined for the first time in our literature in the broad historical sociological context. In this connection we should especially speak about the apt compositional design of the book, which made it possible to show clearly the inadequacy of the correlation of the national and the international in various socioeconomic systems. The reader is persuaded that the formation and development of complex national processes arise in different ways, depending on where they occur--in the socialist world or in a society which is being torn apart by class contradictions.

When examining the experience of the USSR and individual union republics in the area of national relations, the authors devote particular attention to the new social and international community--the Soviet people. When covering the national problems within the framework of the community of socialist nations the emphasis is placed on the formation among the latter of common traits. Considerable space in the book is allotted to the national processes which are occurring in the capitalist and developing countries. And, finally, the authors make a fruitful attempt to examine world national development and its peculiarities in socialist and capitalist society.

When examining integration processes the authors come to the conclusion that there are two basic types of the internationalization of social life. On the one hand, there is the harmoniously developing type of internationalization, which is a qualitatively new form of the economic, social, cultural and political convergence of peoples. On the other hand, there is the capitalist type of internationalization, which takes place under the banner of the increasing antagonistic contradictions between classes. The uncontrollable pursuit of a profit acts as the main motive force of internationalization in the capitalist world. The authors emphasize that the basic characteristics of a specific sociohistorical type of life change radically in the process of the transition from capitalism to socialism. This could not but also affect the ethnic parameters of national communities. At the same time, whereas the purely class characteristics of a nation are completely changed in the case of a change of formations, the ethnic properties characteristic of it to a considerable extent are preserved. Consequently, both a continuity and qualitative differences exist between the two trends in the sphere of national relations, which operate under capitalism and socialism. The development of nations under the conditions of socialism occurs under the influence of such new objective laws of national relations as the affirmation of the equality of races, nations and languages, the self-determination of peoples and the equalization of economic and cultural development.

The book under review is one of the few, in which, along with theoretical questions, practical questions of the guidance of national relations are also examined. In particular, the fact that the first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Moldavia and Kirghizia and other responsible officials of party and soviet organs took part in the work of the conference and the production of the collective work, clearly attests to the close connection of theory and practice.

The party links its practical activity in the area of national relations with the development of international traits among the Soviet people, with the creation of such a moral climate, such an ideological atmosphere in the country, in case of

which there is no and can be no place for chauvinism, nationalism, regionalism and other antipodes of internationalism. Without lofty international harmony, unity and friendship of peoples, without the social consciousness and ideological maturity of people, the party teaches, communism is impossible, just as it is impossible without the corresponding material and technical base (p 32). The authors of the monograph emphasize: the dialectics of the objective process in the USSR is such, that the strengthening of the international basis is becoming an indispensable and the main condition of the further development of the national basis, while the increasing convergence, cooperation and mutual enrichment of nations are leading to new heights of the economic, political and spiritual prosperity of each of them (p 113).

In the monograph considerable space is devoted to Russian as the language of international contact of the peoples of the USSR, to its place and importance in the internationalization of life. The theoretical assumptions are backed by the materials of studies. Enlisting numerous data of statistics and the sociological studies, which were conducted by the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Estonia, Latvia, Moldavia, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Armenia and a number of oblasts and autonomous republics of the RSFSR, the authors show the processes of the convergence of the nations and nationalities of the USSR during the building of the material and technical base of communism and the creation and development of the unified social class structure of Soviet society. The role of the industrial detachment of the working class in the internationalization of the Soviet way of life is especially singled out.

Unfortunately, not all of the chapters and paragraphs of the monograph are written at an identically high scientific level, the main theme--the correlation of the national and the international in social and international development--is not always revealed thoroughly enough in them. The results of the 1979 All-Union Census are not reflected in all the articles.

In conclusion let us note the following. The collective of authors was able to produce a meaningful work, which generalizes the enormous experience of solving national problems in the USSR and the practice of the development of international relations in the modern world. Scientists, instructors of higher educational institutions and lecturers will undoubtedly read the book with great interest.

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SOCIAL HOMOGENEITY OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) p 204

[Review by L. M. Drobizheva of book "Formirovaniye sotsial'noy odnorodnosti sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" [The Formation of the Social Homogeneity of Socialist Society], F. R. Filippov and G. A. Slesarev, editors in chief, Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 169 pages]

[Text] The work under review is a monograph, in which the present state and dynamics of the social structure of Soviet society are reflected. This is the first of the books on this problem, which have been published since the 26th CPSU Congress.

The authors focused the main attention on the process of the formation of the social homogeneity of socialist society and the overcoming of social class differences. They strove to reflect the new approaches to the study of the social structure, starting with the middle of the 1960's. The authors enlist the most important domestic publications and materials of all-union conferences, as well as international meetings of Marxist sociologists. The questions of the correlation of the social and occupational structures, the trends of their development and the problems of the levels of the sociological study of the social structure and the construction of empirical indicators are examined in the book. Particular attention is devoted to the comparison of socioeconomic and sociocultural differences.

Voluminous statistical material and the results of concrete sociological studies, which were conducted in the country, are analyzed in the book. The basic problems of the development of the social structure of Soviet society are posed in it. Some (the structure of the working class and the intelligentsia) are revealed more thoroughly, others (the typology of cities) are only indicated. The analysis made by the authors of regional and territorial differences is especially important for the adequate reflection of the social processes in such a multinational country as the USSR. Although the collective of authors strove to carry out a systems approach in the sociological studies of the process of the convergence of classes and social groups, it was not always possible to accomplish it.

Much space in the monograph is devoted to the internal contradictions of the process of the formation of a socially homogeneous society, which stem, in particular, from the dialectics of the overcoming of class and other social differences (p 11),

the disproportion between the existing structure of the workplaces and the occupational skills structure of the workers, of whom the tendency for the general educational and vocational training to increase is characteristic (p 34). The authors validly raise the questions of the broadening of the opportunities for the realization of the educational and sociopolitical potential of the workers (pp 35, 38) and the difficulties with the job placement of young specialists in superlarge cities, although for the country as a whole the need for such specialists is being met far from completely (p 98). The means of forming a classless structure of society within the historical framework of mature socialism are examined in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. In many respects the role of labor collectives in the formation of social homogeneity is analyzed in a new way. Much space is devoted to the criticism of current anti-Soviet and antisocialist conceptions with respect to the problems of the social structure of Soviet society.

The book is not devoid of flaws, some inconsistency is encountered in the text. Thus, in the section on the social structure of cities it is asserted that "the level of education of the workers is in no way related to the nature of the development of industry and the skills of the workers" (p 137), while in the section on the overcoming of sociocultural differences the relationship of these indicators is clearly traced. The social shifts and the sources of the reinforcement of the working class and the intelligentsia are traced on the basis of voluminous material, but when examining the rural population they are practically not touched upon. The intrastructural changes of the working class and the intelligentsia are analyzed not only on the basis of the materials of the all-union census, but also with the extensive enlistment of the results of sociological studies, while when examining the changes in the structure of the rural population the data of these studies are enlisted very little.

In collective monographs it is difficult to achieve integrity in the presentation of debatable problems. However, this does not mean that one should abandon such publications, since collective works make it possible to acquaint the readers promptly with new scientific developments and the results of sociological studies. The book under review will undoubtedly make its contribution to the study of the social structure of Soviet society and will help instructors and propagandists to cover more thoroughly the social processes taking place in our country.

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MODE OF PRODUCTION OF SOCIAL LIFE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 205-206

[Review by A. I. Demidova, M. A. Manuil'skiy and Ye. P. Sitkovskiy of book "Dialektika sposoba proizvodstva obshchestvennoy zhizni" [The Dialectics of the Mode of Production of Social Life] by A. M. Kovalev, Mysl', Moscow, 1982, 255 pages]

[Text] The characterization of social life as an integral system is a theme which is always topical for Marxist philosophy. No matter how much our knowledge about society is broadened, the question of the specific nature of the social will be basic when interpreting new phenomena and facts. The author of the monograph under review did not simply analyze and generalize the latest results in the area of the knowledge of the fundamental laws of the development of society, he found his own approach to the problem, introducing a number of new concepts, and outlined interesting directions of its study.

Society is regarded in the book as a specific product of the interaction of innate, natural and social factors and conditions. The features of this interaction are studied by means of the concept "the mode of production of social life." The production of physical life, the production of fundamental life (population) and the geographic environment act as components of the latter. In recent times in Soviet literature an active approach has become widespread when studying the essence of the historical process. In the book, as we see, this trend is developed. At the same time the functioning of the social is examined in various subsystems: activity, its premises, conditions and consequences. Such a stand makes it possible, in our opinion, to overcome the one-sided view of the problem, which is still being encountered. When characterizing the movement of society, some authors devote the main attention to animated activity. Materialized activity is regarded only as a consequence of animated activity.

"The process of the production of fundamental life," in the opinion of the author, "is basic in social development, and physical and spiritual production in the end are aimed at its assurance" (p 52). Production, thus, does not "cancel" the effect of natural factors, but "includes" them in the movement of the social. The formulated assumption leads right up to the understanding of the mechanisms of the transformation of the various components into a unified system--society. The indication of the integrity of the latter is frequently regarded as something that stands to reason. Meanwhile this is far from that obvious and cannot be proven by reference, for example, only to the integrating function of physical production or social

relations. A more specific statement of the question distinguishes the author's approach.

The mode of production of social life, it is emphasized in the book, is "the set of all the forms of the vital activity of people and their social relations, which are aimed at the production and reproduction of life and which, while resulting from specific natural and social factors, ensure the reproduction of society as an integral organism" (pp 40-41). The mode of production of fundamental life includes: the productive forces of the mode of physical production, the productive forces of the production of fundamental life (people who have the skills for labor, the means for life, social institutions), social and natural relations and the attitudes of people toward nature and, finally, nature as a habitat. In spite of a certain independence of the mentioned components, their radical change is possible only by way of the transformation of the aggregate productive forces of society.

The attempt made in the book to reveal the peculiarities of different societies during the historical process is of interest. The author regards as a source of social development the change in the aggregate productive forces of society. The tendency toward the coincidence of the objective laws of a given society with the fundamental, generic laws of social life acts as the leading tendency (p 160). Such an approach makes it possible to regard precapitalist formations not as a distortion of the nature of man, but as natural stages of the historical process. At the same time the reproduction of society can be accomplished primarily owing to any one component. Accordingly the nature of their interaction also determines the "character" of the given society. For example, the components of the mode of physical production in bourgeois society undergo considerable development, which, however, in the end subjugates the human factor. The interconnection between the components of the mode of production of social life acquires the nature of an antagonistic conflict. The distinguished contradiction is overcome under communism; the latter ensures the stability and dynamicity of the development of all the components of social life.

The logic of the author inevitably leads to the question of the criterion of social development. The coincidence "between the basic spheres of social life" is advanced as such in the book (p 161). The examined approach makes it possible to analyze the problem of the correlation of the human, class and individual aspects of progress as applied to the different components of historical reality. The emphasis on the dialectical unity of the enumerated factors is a characteristic trait of the Marxist methodology of social knowledge. However, in the literature the question of the criteria of development, as a rule, is studied through the prism of the evolution of social production.

At the same time a number of opinions contained in the book arouse objection. Thus, the leading activeness of man is regarded as the motive forces of social development: "the active leading change of human abilities, which arises on the basis of the leading activeness of man and occurs first of all through the change of the tools of labor, serves as a mighty factor of the gradual progressive development of society" (p 133). In our opinion, it would be incorrect to reduce the problem to the goal-setting activity of people, since the latter is one of the components of social determination. Here is another example. Human vital activity is characterized both as the result (p 40) and as a means (p 41) of the production of social life. Here it is not indicated that it is a question of its various subsystems. Finally, some questions are outlined by the author only in the most general

form. What has been said applies to the interaction of social being and social consciousness--the central problem of the problems of social theory.

The remarks which have been made do not belittle the fruitfulness of the author's approach to the interpretation of the fundamental questions of social development. The presented conception, in our opinion, is also of importance for the practice of research, particularly for the elaboration of indicators of social development. It orients the methodology of constructing indicators not only toward the establishment of the characteristics proper of social subjects, but also toward the consideration of their relations with the conditions and consequences of activity.

In conclusion let us note the following: the positive appraisals stated here to a considerable extent also apply to the Mysl' Publishing House, which with the publication of this book has afforded broad groups of specialists with an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the latest developments in the area of the urgent problems of Marxist social science and ensured the skilled preparation and a good quality of printing of the publication.

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SOCIAL, OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 206-208

[Review by P. O. Kenkmann and Z. T. Tikhonova of book "Sotsial'no-professional'naya oriyentatsiya molodezhi" [The Socio-Occupational Orientation of Young People] by M. Kh. Titma, Eesti Raamat, Tallinn, 1982, Volumes 1 and 2]

[Text] The monograph under review is a theoretical generalization of the results of studies of the problems of young people, first of all in regard to social and occupational orientation. This is not a simple description of sociological data, but a thorough elaboration of the problem of self-determination of the generations entering life and of their involvement in social and occupational activity. The analysis of much empirical material enabled the author to interpret comprehensively the trends which are characteristic of specific groups of young people. The latter is especially important when working out a comprehensive approach to the education of the individual in the spirit of communism.

It is possible to divide the monograph arbitrarily into four parts: theoretical (Chapters I, II and III), procedural (Chapter IV), sociological (Chapters V, VI and VII) and practical (Chapter VIII). Such a structure facilitates the logical transition from general problems to more specific problems: from the questions of the formation of the character of the young generation to the socio-occupational orientations of boys and girls.

It should be taken into account that a rapid increase of the material well-being, the intensification of urbanization, the decrease of the differences between the urban and rural way of life, the decline of the interest of student youth in a higher education and so forth began to be observed earlier in Estonia than in other regions of the country. The aspiration of the author to identify the relations of the phenomena being studied with the profound processes taking place in the life of the region and the country as a whole is especially valuable from the point of view of the sociological interpretation of the problems of young people.

In the monograph the socio-occupational orientation is regarded as a phenomenon of the consciousness of young people, as an objective aspect of self-determination. "All the activity of society, including education, is connected with the involvement of the young generation as a subject in social life. Precisely such an approach, a broader approach to the problems of young people, which encompasses other special approaches, is also required under the conditions of mature socialism" (Vol 1, p 9), the author justly asserts.

The work under review has a number of peculiarities. First, as was already noted, a large amount of primary data is used in it. The materials of the all-union and international comparative studies on the role of the higher school in the reproduction of the social structure of socialist society¹ and of the comparative panel study on the determination by the secondary school graduates of the Estonian SSR of their place in life are the most important. Second, the studied contingents of young people form some whole, which is organized both in social space (the typical categories of student and working youth of Estonia and the regions being compared with it) and in time (the progressive development of young people in the process of self-determination).

The author enlists diverse methods of the statistical processing of the primary material and skillfully uses mathematical models, which make it possible to reveal thoroughly the most essential and specific aspects of the phenomena being studied.

In the first chapters of the monograph, which are devoted to the theoretical and methodological problems of the study of the socio-occupational orientation, Titma presents his own understanding of the place of the sociology of young people in the structure of Marxist sociology and outlines the basic problems of the study of the involvement of young people in social life. Chapters III and IV of the book are devoted to methodological questions of the study of socio-occupational orientation and to the elaboration of a program of the sociological study of social and occupational self-determination.

When analyzing the objective processes which are taking place in the economic and political life of contemporary socialist society, Titma examines the social aspects of the intensifying occupational division of labor, the differentiation of educational institutions, the prestige and appeal of occupations, the value notions about labor and the orientations of young people in life. When interpreting the prestige of occupations and the attitude toward labor, the author reveals the content of the indicated phenomena of the consciousness and finds in certain objects aspects which have been little studied. For example, when studying the prestige and appeal of occupations (Vol 2, Chapter V), he establishes the dependence of the scale of prestige on other subjective characteristics of the individual.

Considerable space in the book is devoted to the poorly elaborated conception of orientations in life--components of the group consciousness, in which "the formed hierarchy of the importance of the forms of vital activity in the form of an integral phenomenon in the consciousness..." (Vol 2, p 151) is revealed. The study made by the author of the structure of the orientations in life of the basic categories of young people and his recommendations on the improvement of the situation of the choice of occupation are of particular value. The control of the occupational orientation of young people is effective, the author asserts, if it is included in the process of the formation of a subjective aim at specific spheres of labor (Vol 2, p 250).

Along with extensive and diverse empirical material and the use of an extensive set of methods of the processing of sociological data, the monograph is furnished with a large number of tables, diagrams, graphs and charts. They all confirm clearly

1. The basic results of the studies are published in collective works [1-3].

and convincingly the basis postulates of the book and clarify the essence of the author's position.

There are also a number of flaws in the work. The content of the key concepts is not always revealed thoroughly. It is well known, for example, that the terms "the orientations in life" and "socio-occupational orientation" have become widespread, but in the book under review their differentiations are absent. The author validly emphasizes that the guarantee of the obtaining of high quality empirical material is the elaboration of a strategy of the study. But in the book under review it is discussed extremely superficially.

In conclusion let us note that although the monograph under review is meant first of all for professional sociologists, it will be useful to everyone who by the nature of his activity is concerned with the problems of young people.

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STUDENT BODY OF SVERDLOVSK

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 208-209

[Review by N. S. Novoselov of book "Sovetskoye studenchestvo" [Soviet Students] by L. Ya. Rubina, Mysl', Moscow, 1981, 207 pages]

[Text] The work under review is a sociological study which is based on extensive and very interesting material. L. Ya. Rubina chose as a subject of study five higher educational institutions of Sverdlovsk. Up to 30 percent of the total number of first-year students and graduates were surveyed in the day departments. The data for the higher educational institutions of Sverdlovsk were compared with the results of the sociological studies conducted in other higher educational centers of the country. A portion of the work was performed within the all-union research project "The Higher School," which was carried out in 1973-1975 on the initiative of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Student youth are not a social class or socio-occupational group. In the opinion of the author, the student body can be defined as "a large social group which serves as a source of the reinforcement of the basic detachments of the intelligentsia, is engaged in activity on the preparation for highly skilled mental labor and actively participates in diverse, socially useful activity" (p 24).

The social sources of the formation and the composition of the student body reflect the integrative trend in the development of the social class structure of mature socialist society: the further convergence of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, the intelligentsia, residents of the city and the countryside, workers of mental and physical labor. The following figures are cited in the book: whereas during the 1969-70 school year at the higher educational institutions of the country first-year students from the families of employees made up 54.4 percent, while those from the families of workers made up 37.1 percent, in 1979/80 these figures came respectively to 46.2 and 47.3 percent (p 56). In the ranks of student youth the proportion of children of kolkhoz farmers is also steadily increasing. It should be taken into account that more than half of the students come from socially heterogeneous families.

One of the sections of the book is devoted to the analysis of the life plans and socio-occupational orientation of student youth. The author recorded the life plans of students: a) at the time of the making of a decision on the choice of a higher educational institution and specialty; b) when evaluating this choice

immediately after enrolling in the higher educational institution and before graduating from it; c) when realizing one's readiness for the work ahead. The life plans are characterized subject to the time of origination (formation) and the degree of stability, the degree of awareness, the specificity, the consistency of the expectations and their realization.

According to the data of the study, for 20-24 percent of the students the decision on the choice of occupation (and accordingly on the choice of a higher educational institution) formed more than 3 years prior to enrolling in the institute, for approximately 60 percent of those surveyed--1 year or less before enrollment, for 11.6 percent--right at the time of the filing of documents (pp 86-87). This attests to substantial gaps in the vocational guidance work with student youth during the period of their life before enrolling in a higher educational institution.

Having ascertained the knowledge of students about individual aspects of the work ahead in the chosen specialty and their views on the goals of future activity, the author notes that "in mature socialist society the young people, who are joining the ranks of the intelligentsia, base themselves on the appeal of the content of the future labor activity, and not on any special privileges of the social status of a specialist.... The social usefulness of labor activity and the opportunity to engage in highly skilled labor are the basic regulators of the process of the reproduction of the intelligentsia in mature socialist society" (p 107).

Some peculiarities of the way of life of student youth are elucidated in the book. The author believes that "as applied to the student body the way of life can be regarded as a system of basic types of activity, which is connected with the training of specialists of highly skilled mental labor and through which the nature and extent of the activeness of the young people of higher educational institutions and the degree of their performance of social functions are revealed" (p 129).

In our opinion, in this section of the book too little attention is devoted to the basic type of activity of students--their studies. With respect to this indicator it is possible to distinguish three groups among the students: outstanding students, those who get B's and A's and those who receive primarily C's in their studies. In 1979/80 at the higher educational institutions of Sverdlovsk the outstanding students made by 7 percent, those who get B's and A's--46.5 percent, C students--46.5 percent. We believe that the causes of this phenomenon should be analyzed more thoroughly, the state of affairs at the higher educational institutions should be evaluated critically and a number of recommendations on the improvement of the work with the contingent of C students should be prepared.

The monograph of L. Ya. Rubina will undoubtedly be received with interest by a wide range of readers and especially by the educators who are directly engaged in the training and education of student youth.

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PSYCHOLOGY OF GERMAN YOUNG PEOPLE

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[Review by L. N. Rybakova of book "Zur Psychologie der 12... 22 Jahrigen. Resultate einer Intervallstudie," edited by W. Friedrich and H. Muller, VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1980, 248 pages]

[Text] The collective work of the scholars from the Central Institute of Youth Research of the GDR acquaints the reader with the sociological, sociopsychological and pedagogical aspects of the formation of the personality of a young person. The results of a more than decade-long study of various aspects of the life of young people, which was begun in 1968, when the sample was 1,000 sixth-grade students of Leipzig, are presented in the book. They are surveyed annually according to a method which has almost not changed. In 1978 the number of respondents, who are former pupils, who had become students and young workers, exceeded 400. It is planned to continue the survey until the respondents are 25 years old. Such a panel study is especially interesting as it has no analogues in Soviet sociological literature.

The study was of a comprehensive nature. Along with the study of the activity of young people in various spheres: studies, labor, leisure and so on, observations of their physical development were made, the objective living conditions were recorded, the relations with parents, the members of the collective and so on were analyzed. The authors emphasize that, while having regarded as of paramount importance the study of the value orientations, motivations, the social modes proper of behavior and the change of life plans, they strove to identify not the psychological peculiarities of youth as such, but the processes which characterize the development of the young people of the GDR of the 1970's (p 9).

The results of the study made it possible to draw a number of interesting conclusions. The integration of various traits, which are characteristic of young people who live under the conditions of socialism: a philosophical and ideological point of view, social activeness, success in studies, interests and the corresponding behavior in the sphere of leisure, values and the aims at labor, was noted among all the categories of those surveyed. At the age of 13-14 the degree of integration was already quite high, in subsequent years its increase was noted, no differences with respect to sex were found. The studies showed that with age the shaping of the philosophical and ideological consciousness intensifies. From year to year

the proportion of convictions in one's world outlook increases, it becomes more and more stable, deviation from one's initial point of view is observed more rarely. Without denying a certain specific nature in the structure of life goals and in social behavior, the authors note that girls do not lag to any extent behind boys in the level of intellectual and ideological development. Moreover, the positive orientation of women is even more pronounced. Indeed, when the cognitive component in the orientation is strengthened, such a predominance disappears. At the same time the ideological aims of girls are more stable, their initial ideological views, as compared with boys, change less frequently with time.

Interesting data were obtained concerning the interrelations of generations in the family. The researchers state: in the essential spheres of vital activity the majority of parents of 18-20 year old respondents serve as a model of behavior for their children. This enables the authors to formulate the following conclusion, which received empirical substantiation: "...the establishment of a so-called youth culture, as though young people distance themselves greatly from the family of their parents, is completely at variance with the aims and behavior of young people in the GDR" (p 196). However, in spite of the fact that the value orientations of the older and younger generations in many ways coincide, there is an area in which differences frequently arise between parents and children. It is a question of the forms of spending leisure time, in which the specific nature of youth is especially manifested. The behavior of 12-14 year old boys and girls to a considerable extent deviates from the standard notions of their parents. Precisely during this period fathers and mothers radically change their tactics and practice of rearing and develop a new style of behavior, as a result of which the relations between generations, as a rule, stabilize.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize once again: the new work of our colleagues from the GDR is making a significant contribution to sociological literature: the authors have presented a convincing conception of the personality of a young person in socialist society, have demonstrated on the basis of specific material the close interrelationship of real social processes, have made a versatile analysis of the vital activity and value orientations of young people as a social group and have shown an example of the practical organization of all the stages of a panel study.

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SOCIOLOGY OF MEDICINE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 210-211

[Review by V. A. Ponomarchuk of book "Sotsiologiya meditsiny" [The Sociology of Medicine] by A. M. Izutkin, V. P. Petlenko and G. I. Tsaregorodtsev, Zdorov'ya, Kiev, 1981, 184 pages]

[Text] The strengthening of the ties of the social, natural and technical sciences stimulates the studies of "borderline" problems. Thus, in recent years the need for sociological generalizations of the medical hygiene aspects of the functioning of production, culture, education and so on has increased considerably. The monograph under review is devoted exactly to the sociological aspects of medicine.

In special literature health is frequently treated only as a biological feature of the phenomenon of man. Thereby the problems of medicine are taken beyond the framework of social knowledge. In the book the idea that medical and biological problems also have a social aspect, is opposed to such a one-sided point of view. Health is regarded in the monograph "as a natural basis of the freedom of man, as a necessary prerequisite of the participation of the Soviet people in labor, public and private life, in the realization of cultural forms of contact and behavior" (p 93). Dwelling in detail on the problem of the biosocial monism in the vital activity of people, the authors show: the scientific solution of the problem is the starting point for the formation of the sociology of medicine, since man, being a part of nature, in real life shows his worth by diverse means of social and biological activeness. The methodological assumptions, which were formulated in the book in this regard, made it possible to reveal thoroughly the medical hygiene aspects of the interaction of man and nature, labor, consumption, health and so on. All these problems also act as social problems, when it is a question of the interrelations of medicine (as a social institution) with society. Accordingly, in the opinion of the authors, the specific social relations and value orientations, which arise here, act as the object of the sociology of medicine (pp 5-6).

Much attention in the monograph is devoted to the study of the social functions of medicine. While reflecting the achieved level of production, science and culture, health care in turn has a diverse influence on man and society as a whole, acts as an important factor of the formation of the harmoniously developed individual and outlines means of overcoming the social hygiene and psychophysiological differences between mental and physical labor; the recommendations of medical science are of

considerable importance in the cultivation among people of reasonable needs and the increase of their general and occupational culture. The enumerated questions are examined in the monograph on a broad social level, with allowance made for the tasks of the socioeconomic and spiritual development of our society, which were posed by the 26th CPSU Congress. The methodological analysis of the interdependence of the way of life and health is of particular interest. The authors do not confine themselves to showing the influence of some components of vital activity or others on the biopsychosomatic condition of people, but also examine the effect of a healthy way of life on the productive performance by the individual of social functions. Not without reason is the conclusion drawn in the monograph that a healthy way of life is valuable for society for not only the medical hygiene, but also the social consequences. The formulated assumption is of great importance for the practice of research. It aims sociologists when conducting surveys at devoting more attention to the social medical aspects of the way of life. Unfortunately, so far the overwhelming majority of questionnaires contain only the most elementary questions on this account.

A special section of the book is devoted to the analysis of the inherent laws of medicine as a social institution, particularly to the sociological characterization of the value relations and professional ethics in medicine. Under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution these problems are acquiring an especially great importance. At the 26th CPSU Congress, along with the requirement of skilled medical service, the need for a responsive, attentive attitude toward those who need medical assistance was emphasized. In light of the advanced demands the authors examine the questions of a physician's duty, the civic and professional responsibility of medical personnel, the problems of psychotherapy, deontology and humanism in the preventive medical and public activity of the physician.

At the same time a number of questions, which, in our opinion, are among the urgent problems of the sociology of medicine (the technical and procedural base of research, for example), are not touched upon in the work. The social medical aspects of demography, ecology, the formation of reasonable needs, the campaign against harmful habits, the promotion of a healthy way of life, that is, questions which today have acquired great social resonance in our society, are not revealed thoroughly enough. Finally, a number of areas of research (family and everyday relations, the medical hygiene aspects of anthropoecology, labor and health) are characterized without a sufficiently thorough analysis of the problems existing here. Unfortunately, the authors at times pass over in silence methodologically debatable questions, while the bibliography reflects far from completely the works devoted to the social questions of medicine and health care. The monograph would gain considerably from the insertion in it of a special section devoted to the critical analysis of bourgeois interpretations of the social hygiene problems of social development. It seems that the majority of the noted errors are a consequence of the inadequate examination of the logical gnoseological and methodological problems of the construction of the special sociological theory. The main importance and merit of the book consist in the theoretical generalization and analysis of the questions which constitute the subject of the sociology of medicine and in the raising of a number of problems which are new for it. Therefore the monograph will undoubtedly be greeted with interest by both sociologists and health care workers.

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SOCIOLOGY OF JOURNALISM

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[Review by Yu. A. Yermakov of book "Sotsiologiya zhurnalistiki. Teoriya, metodologiya, praktika" [The Sociology of Journalism. Theory, Methodology, Practice], edited by Ye. P. Prokhorov, Izdatel'stvo MGU, Moscow, 1981, 232 pages]

[Text] In the set of sciences on journalism the sociology of journalism so far is the weakest link: it does not have a sufficiently developed theoretical conceptual system, a uniform method of conducting studies, consolidated recommendations on their technical organization and so on. The monograph prepared by staff members of the Journalism Faculty of Moscow State University essentially fills these gaps. The authors strive to provide the theoretical and methodological principles of this comparatively new scientific discipline, examine its problems, history and prospects of development and make a thorough analysis of numerous sociological studies of the means of mass information and propaganda, which have been conducted in recent decades in our country.

In the monograph it is emphasized that journalism, which performs in society the functions of contact and communication, nevertheless differs fundamentally from other means of communication, since it has its own specific nature and organizational structure. The term "mass communications" does not encompass the most important aspects of the scientific discipline which studies journalism, therefore instead of the concepts "the sociology of the press" and "the sociology of mass communications" the authors propose to introduce the term "the sociology of journalism," which owing to its semantic versatility and at the same time precise reference to specific objects is more accurate (pp 9-10).

The first two chapters of the monograph, which arouse particular interest, are devoted to the detailed analysis of the theoretical and methodological principles of the sociology of journalism. The authors examine the latter in the form of a system, which includes seven basic, dialectically interconnected elements: "the publisher," "the journalist," "reality," "the text," "the information channel," "the mass audience" and "the social institution." The functions of this system in society are analyzed in detail in the book, but the authors correctly assert that "a knowledge of the functions is necessary, but inadequate, and the essence of this 'inadequacy' and the nature of its 'compensation' constitute the most important problem of the sociology of journalism..." (p 19). Whereas the conception of the

functions reveals the essence and social purpose of journalism, the sociology of journalism continuously clarifies the specific conditions and means of their realization subject to the dynamics of the journalistic objects.

In the monograph the principles, norms and rules of the optimization of the activity of the elements of the mentioned system are formulated, the categorial system of the theory of its "optimal functioning" is consistently and logically described. In the work such concepts as "the need for information," "information interests" and "information behavior" are analyzed, their subordination is established, a number of valid demands on journalistic texts are formulated and, finally, practical steps on their realization are outlined. The orientation toward the actual needs and preferences of the audience constitutes the basic difference of Soviet journalism from bourgeois journalism, therefore the study of the mentioned needs and their consideration in everyday journalistic work are of great ideological importance.

The section of the work, in which specific applied studies are thoroughly analyzed, their results are summarized, the group of still unsolved methodological problems is outlined and the prospects of the further development of this direction of sociological science are outlined, is of great interest both for theorists and for experienced workers and the staff members of organs of mass information. The theoretical conclusions of the authors are quite capable of becoming a good help in the everyday activity of practical workers.

It is well known, for example, that in recent years the number of letters of workers to the editorial boards of newspapers and journals, radio and television has increased sharply, the old forms of the participation of readers, listeners and viewers in the activity of the mass media have become complicated and new forms have appeared. However, so far in science there is no integral conception of the mass relations of journalism with the audience. In the monograph the bases for such a conception are outlined, an extensive social portrait of the public correspondent is created on the basis of much empirical material, the basic goals and reasons of his activity are identified and specific criteria for the classification, typologization, prompt processing and efficient use of the letters of workers in the activity of the means of mass information and propaganda are proposed.

It is possible to judge the level of the optimum functioning of journalism only by relying on the verified sociological criteria of its efficiency and effectiveness. However, in the monograph this important question is touched upon only in a most general form. An indisputable shortcoming of the authors of the monograph is the fact that the results of research efforts in the area of the sociology of free time, the family, culture and the way of life remained outside their purview. This additional material would have helped to establish the relationship of the sociology of journalism with other special sociological theories and would undoubtedly have enriched the new scientific discipline.

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MATHEMATICAL, STATISTICAL METHODS IN SOCIOLOGY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 213-214

[Review by E. P. Andreyev of book "Matematiko-statisticheskiye osnovy sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniy" [The Mathematical and Statistical Bases of Sociological Research] by V. T. Tsyba, Finansy i statistika, Moscow, 1981, 255 pages]

[Not translated by JPRS]

LEFT RADICAL SOCIOLOGY IN LATIN AMERICA

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 214-216

[Review by P. S. Gurevich of book "Levoradikal'naya sotsiologiya v Latinskoy Amerike. Kritika osnovnykh kontseptsiy" [Left Radical Sociology in Latin America. A Critique of the Basic Conceptions] by A. V. Shestopal, Mysl', Moscow, 1981, 207 pages]

[Not translated by JPRS]

CONFLICT SOCIOLOGY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 216-217

[Review by Ye. S. Druzhinin of book "Burzhuaznaya 'sotsiologiya konflikta'" [Bourgeois "Conflict Sociology"] by L. A. Nechiporenko, Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 142 pages]

[Not translated by JPRS]

NEW BOOKS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) pp 217-219

[Article: "The Bookshelf of the Sociologist"]

[Not translated by JPRS]

FOREIGN NEW ITEMS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 83 (signed to press 19 Jan 83) p 219

[Article: "Foreign Panorama"]

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